

THE PANJAB PAST AND PRESENT

Volume-IV
Part I-II

Edited by
GANDA SINGH



PUBLICATION BUREAU
PUNJABI UNIVERSITY PATIALA

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The Ethics of Biography*

Men of action, Lord Acton once remarked, should be judged by the historian at their worst, men of thought at their best. He may seem, to many of his successors, at once too harsh in this injunction too generous. He was, of course, in practice more generous than he sounds; it was, in fact, the public crimes rather than the private vices of men of action that aroused his indignation. And in his notion of judging men of thought at their best, he is in line with the general approach of literary critics; we do not base our opinion of Shakespeare on Titus Andronicus and the Comedy of Errors. And, in a much wider sense, we do, perhaps, get much nearer the "real" Byron, say, when we look at him through the eyes of somebody like John Cam Hobhouse, who was always in tune with him, than through the eyes of somebody like Leigh Hunt, who never was. Sympathy—a sympathy which need not finally imply moral approval—is an indispensable quality in any writer of memoirs. And if this is true about all memorialists, it is particularly true about those who write memoirs of men of letters.

The life of the writer differs from almost every other kind of life in that there can be no sharp division in it between the public and the private man. Sir Robert Walpole drank, hunted, kept mistresses, collected pictures, despised literature, and encouraged bawdy talk at his table so that all his guests might feel at ease; but his private vices and virtues, those of a coarse, genial, masterful man, with an unexpected streak of artistic taste in a single field, have very little direct relevance to how he governed England. Nothing at all, on the other hand, in the few sordid, unhappy, scandalous years during which Rimbaud was a poet of genius, is irrelevant to what he then wrote; and the biographer of Rimbaud cannot afford to be either fastidious or censorious. He judges the life in the light of the works,

*The Times Literary Supplement, Dec. 9, 1955.

not the works in the list of the life; or, rather he, assembles and arranges his materials and leaves judgement to the reader, or to God.

The most obvious modern trend in both history and biography is a renunciation of that privilege of passing judgement which for Lord Acton was a duty. The approach of Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* is to-day as much out of fashion as the approach of that absurd, delightful book, Dean Burgon's *Lives of Twelve Good men*. Strachey is in his way as typical a Victorian as Burgon, he does not find human nature excessively complicated; he knows what he likes and he dislikes; and he has no hesitation in telling the reader what that is. This self-assurance is perhaps the most notable single quality that differentiates either a mid-Victorian like Burgon or a late Victorian like Strachey from ourselves; Lord Acton himself was as oracularly sure that Bulwer Lytton was a good writer as that any persecuting Pope must be a bad man. The modern historian or biographer has a quite new awareness both of the complexity of human nature and of the element of subjective prejudice that is bound up with every attempt to pronounce judgement. One has only to compare, for instance, Strachey's very attractive but sentimental and melodramatic portrait of Newman in his study of Cardinal Manning with Sir Geoffrey Faber's far subtler grasp of Newman's complexities in his excellent *Oxford Apostles* which has been reissued by Penguin Books, to be aware of how much depth and reality the psychological approach can add to biography. Yet even the psychological approach is beginning, just a little, to date; what may prove lastingly valuable in a book like *Oxford Apostles* is less its explanatory conjectures than its masterly selection and arrangement of facts. The facts speak very differently to a sympathetic sceptic like Sir Geoffrey and to a reader whose own spiritual development may have led him, at some moment, to consider Newman's ideas seriously, on their merits. Such a reader will see that there is an inner logic in Newman's development to which the peculiarities of his personal psychology are only obscurely and indirectly relevant; Newman might have been a quite different sort of man and might, from the same starting point, have travelled, though at a different pace, the same road. Once we have seen that, we go back with pleasure even from

an excellent book like *Oxford Apostles to the Apologia pro Vita Sua*. The most intimate and significant history that can be written of a man of letters is the inner history of a mind; and nothing else can be quite so competent as that mind to write that history.

Newman, whose inner history was a public drama, may be thought a special case. The inner histories of many writers are at once less coherent in themselves and have less bearing on great public themes. Yet in the case of two recently dead writers of genius, Norman Douglas and Dylan Thomas, in whose lives there was a great deal of incoherence, and who are not identified with any topic of current debate, sympathy and an eye for the important facts—the facts that bring out a man's innerness—remain the most important virtues of the biographer. Miss Nancy Cunard's book on Douglas, *Grand Man*, scrappy and loquacious as it is, is a good book because it is written with the understanding that comes from love; Mr. Richard Aldington's *Pinorman* is an unsatisfactory book because it is written with the bias that comes from spleen; he set out to paint Douglas Warts and all, but in the end he has painted nothing but Warts; his subject has escaped him. An American poet, Mr. John Malcolm Brinnin, has recently published in the United States extracts from a journal which he kept during Dylan Thomas's poetry-reading tours there in the last years of his life. The poet was during this period a sick man, and at no time had he been notably prudent or temperate; the strain of performing in public, and of constantly meeting strangers, tempted him, apparently, to drink even more heavily than usual and often to behave foolishly. The American Press has held up its hands in sad horror.

Mr. Brinnin was a loyal friend of Dylan Thomas, and no doubt he feels that it is his duty to publish these facts, both as a contribution to literary history, and as a warning, perhaps, to younger poets. But will the warning be an effective one? Would twenty years of caution and prudence—how incautious to leave Swansea for London in the first place—have given the world the *Collected Poems*, *Portrait of the Arist as a Young Dog* and *Under Milk Wood*? And are the facts the relevant facts? Do they show the poet at his best, or at his most typical, or do they throw any light either on his genius

for friendship or his gifts as a writer? We must wait to see Mr. Brinnin's book before we judge. Yet it so happens that another American writer, Mr. William York Tyndall has given us, in a recent critical book, *The Literary Symbol*, examples of the kind of "fact" that is relevant. Meeting Thomas in New York bars, he managed, as few Thomas's English friends ever did, to get the poet to talk about his poetry.

As Thomas put it one day in a bar on West 23rd Street (though his intention fails to exhaust the meanings he created): a young man goes out to fish for sexual experience, but he catches a family, the church, and the village green.

That is the best clue we have yet been given to that very difficult poem, "Ballad of the Long-Legged Bait": Mr. Tyndall had obviously got Thomas's wave-length. And the potential biographer of a poet is perhaps better occupied in trying to do this than in counting the spots on his subject's waistcoat or the rate at which he knocks back drinks.

Material in Inscriptions for the History of Institutions

SIR JOHN MAYNARD*

It is a commonplace that the Hindu has not been a chronicler, and, with rare exceptions, has left us nothing similar to the monkish histories of medieval Europe or the works of the Muhammedan historians. But for certain practical purposes he has been a diligent recorder of particular facts, and has taken care, by the choice of durable material, that the record shall survive. My friend Mr. Woolner, the Principal of the Oriental College, is now editing, with a glossary, the most famous series of the Indian inscriptions, those of Asoka. We should have known little that is valuable of a ruler who came near to uniting all India in one empire, if he had not recorded his edicts on the rocks; and we should have known far less, than is now within the reach of scholars, of dynasties, chronology, geography, religious systems, taxation, land tenures, social organisation, languages and systems of writing, if there had not existed a widespread and long enduring practice of setting down upon stone and copper certain matters of importance to individuals and communities.

Most of these documents record gifts of land or privileges, and these are generally dated with a meticulous accuracy, with the name, dynasty, country and ancestry of the reigning king, the year of his reign and the year of the era; and a suitable imprecation upon him who resumes or violates the grant; all evident safeguards of the rights of the grantee. But there are also many which commemorate incidents of social or religious interest, the self-immolation of widows, or of faithful servants who have given their heads to the goddess to secure an heir to the master, heroic deaths in battle or the slaying of tigers and wild bears. There is one describing a plague of elephants, and the prowess of a sportsman king, who devised a chariot in the form of a lion, and, entering the forest in that shape, destroyed or captured a great number.

**Journal of the Pb. Historical Society, Lahore, Vol. IX-2 (1925), pp. 93-105*

Another class of inscriptions describes incidents of importance in the history of kingdoms. In A. D. 1173 a certain ruler¹ sends an armed force to collect the revenues of a tract which had been recalcitrant, and a battle takes place owing to what is euphemistically described as a misunderstanding. In another case,² we have the record of a great migration led by a headman whose daughter had been discourteously treated. The story reminds us of Exodus. The king's army came to seize the emigrants, the river divided to let the latter pass, and they escaped after eight days' fighting. They took with them 700 carts, 3,000 sheep, and the party included the "eighteen castes and the 101 families." It is probably a typical story of the abandonment of a kingdom in which oppression was practised. Two other inscriptions,³ found near Jodhpur, record the re-colonisation of a village which had been made unsafe by predatory tribes.

Masses of this material have been made available by learned editors, who give us generally a facsimile of the inscription, its transliteration and translation, with explanatory notes on the text. They are contained in many volumes, so many that I cannot give a comprehensive list of them. Thirteen volumes of the *Epigraphica Indica*, and twelve of the *Epigraphica Carnatica* are available in Lahore in the University and Public libraries; but, of the two published volumes (Vols. I and III) of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, apparently only one; and of the three volumes of the Southern Indian inscriptions, only the second. Other volumes could probably be obtained from the Archaeological Office Library at Simla. The inscriptions extend over many centuries from the days of Asoka or perhaps earlier, down to the 19th century of the Christian era, but the number hitherto recovered from the alluvial plains of Northern India is small by comparison with those tracts in which stone is plentiful or the ravages of invasion have been less destructive. The processes of discovery, translating and editing, are still continuing, and the diligent searcher may yet be rewarded with important finds, such as the Aramaic inscription recently discovered by Sir John Marshal at Taxilla. Apart

1. *Epigraph, Carn.*, Vol. VIII, No. 139 of Sorab.
2. *Ibidem*, Vol. VII, Part I, No. 83 of Channagiri.
3. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. IX, p 278.

from the sites which the Archaeological Department is investigating, I should guess that in the Punjab the Salt Range and the Himalayan Hill States are the most promising fields of search. The latter, and particularly Chamba, have already yielded up material of interest which has been published by Dr. Vogel.

But it is not only the discoverer, the translator and the editor of inscriptions, for whom there is work. These three bring together the material, which another order of enquirers should sift and examine in order to extract from it, with all due caution and reserve, some tentative generalisations. In this paper I have collected, from inscriptions which range generally from the 9th to 19th century of the Christian era, and from the extreme south of India to Ambala, Rajputana and Eastern Bengal, information about certain indigenous institutions. These institutions may have varied, probably did very much, from time to time and from country to country, and only more intensive spade work in a narrower field can prepare for the solid foundations of serious history. My purpose is only to suggest; and I have assumed a certain unity, for this purpose in the broad characteristics of certain Indian Institutions in the mediaeval and early modern period. If this paper should stimulate some more laborious enquirer to a more serious undertaking, its purpose will have been fulfilled.

From sources other than the inscriptions we know that certain popular bodies made laws or rules of their own. "If a people of a whole village," says Brihaspati, "or of a district, mutually execute a writing under their own signatures, among themselves for the sake of some ordinance, not contrary to the king's laws, that is called a writing of agreement"; and these agreements or ordinances, and the breaches of them, form an important feature of the law-books, down as far as the Vyavahare MUYUKHA in the early part of the 17th century A.D. It was the king's business, in the last resort, to enforce these ordinances, and he is exhorted by the law-givers, from Manu downwards, to enquire into the laws of castes, districts, and families and enforce them.

It is a common place eulogy of kings in the inscriptions of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, that they protect all the castes in the exercise

of their customs; but written records of these customs, or of ordinances established by popular bodies are extremely rare, if we except the measures of local or communal self-taxation to which I shall allude below, I note the following as an instance of something which comes very close to law making. About the year 1425 A. D. the Brahmans of the kingdom of Padarvidu in Southern India draw up what they describe as an agreement fixing the sacred law.¹ This determines that anyone who taxes money for the marriage of his daughter, and anyone, who celebrates a marriage in which such a price has been paid, shall be liable to punishment by the king, and shall be excluded from the community of Brahmans.

This declaration of submission to the royal criminal jurisdiction, as in modern language we might describe it, has a particularly interesting bearing upon the growth of the royal power. The idea is clearly traceable that a man is only subject to the jurisdiction when he has consented to be so. The Southern Indian inscriptions, for instance, contain many formulas of the following kind. So and so, having received so many sheep, contracts to supply *ghee* for the temple lamps. "If I do not, I shall be liable to a fine...If I resist, I solemnly agree to pay one piece of gold daily to the king who is then reigning."² Again, in an inscription³ of A. D. 1229 in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, we find certain Brahmans, in an agreement concerning their lands and the quit-rent upon them, laying it down that anyone who transgresses the terms, will incur the anger of the emperor. But an even clearer case is that of a Mewar Charter⁴ of 1818 A.D., cited by Colonel Tod, where it is laid down that—"whosoever shall depart from the foregoing, the Maharana shall punish. In doing so, the fault will not be the Rana's."

It is not only the criminal jurisdiction which is the subject of bargain or agreement. In the Rajputana inscriptions we have unmistakable traces of the concession of certain rights of landed property

1. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 84.

2. *Ibidem*, Vol. I, pp. 114-115.

3. *Epigraph, Carn.*, Vol. V, 128 of Arsikere.

4. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*: By Lt. Colonel Tod, published Calcutta, 1896, Vol. I, p. 178.

and of taxation, made by popular bodies to rulers or other powerful persons in exchange for their protection. In A.D. 1750 the village of Dongla¹ grants certain specified lands to Maharaja Khushal Singh, with stated privileges to receive money, grain, transit dues and two platters on every marriage. In A.D. 1758 the inhabitants of Amlee² write in favour of Rawat Fatteh Singh - "The Ranawuts Sawant Singh and Sobagh Singh had Amlee in grant; but they were oppressive to the inhabitants ... The inhabitants demanded the protection of the Rana... and now they grant in *rekwalee* (a word which is almost equivalent to blackmail) 125 bighas as *bhum* to Fateh Singh." *Bhum*, which literally means land, consists, according to Baden Powell, in an absolute estate in a given area, which may be coupled with the condition of maintaining good order, responsibility for crime and so forth. Princes themselves desire *bhumiya* rights because they are so secure, and are unaffected even by deposition and the loss of the royal status. The interesting thing is to find these highly valued rights within the gift, not of the Prince but of a popular body.

The Epigraphia Carnatica contain records of a few apparently similar grants. Thus, about 480 A. D., we find the people of Nandiyala recording³ the grant to a king's younger brother of a share in a particular tract by way of compensation for the loss of a kingdom. In 1184 A.D., in the neighbourhood of Arsikere⁴, "the gavares, masters and settis who were leading men in the 18 great cities of the world, in Velapura and the 64 holy places," conferred on one Madhava (who was a royal inspector) "the rank of chief master of the city of the three worlds." And in 1382 A. D., in what is now the Belur Taluk, the marchants of a certain corporation, together with various dependent corporations and all the Holiyas of 27 towns where fairs were established, gave⁵ to the hereditary minister of King Harihara the office of Prithvi-settitana, or mayoralty of the earth, and granted to him a number of dues including those on drugs, piece-goods,

1. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 171

2. *Ibidem*.

3. *Epigraph, Carn.*, Vol. VI, No. 50 of Chikmagalur.

4. *Ibidem*, Vol. V, Part I, No. 79 of Arsikere.

5. *Ibidem*, Vol. V, Part I, No. 75 of Belur Taluk.

grains, animals and female slaves, apparently in consideration of his protection. As he was "the officer for superintendence of the customs of over 56 countries," the merchants doubtless had good reasons for desiring him as a protector.

I trust my readers will acquit me of leading them away from the firm foundation of stone and copper to the doubtful ground of speculation, if I venture at this point to remind them of a fact which to my mind has a very close connection with these historical instances of the concession of jurisdiction by popular bodies. This is the frequency of the tradition that a ruler is invited to power by a people having no organised government of a monarchical kind and conscious of the weakness of divided counsels. As an instance out of many, I will cite Tod's account of the origin of the State of Bikanir. The pastoral Jats of the Godarra section surrendered to Bika, Rahtor, the right to levy *dhooa*, or a hearth-tax of one rupee per house, and a land-tax of two rupees per 100 Bighas, on condition that he would protect them against enemies and respect their rights. He bound himself to receive the *Tika* of inauguration from the hands of the descendants of the elders of the clan, and that the *gadi* should be deemed vacant till such rite was administered.

Measures imposing new taxes, or assigning the proceeds of old ones, recur in the inscriptions with remarkable frequency. Sometimes, but by no means always, the royal officers take part in these acts and confirm them by their authority. In 1882 A. D., we find the horse-dealers at Pehowa, in what is now the Karnal District of the Punjab, taxing themselves and their customers for a religious purpose.¹ There is a similar grant of taxes on horses and salt by traders and horse-dealers in what is now the Jaipur State.² A great assemblage of different castes and trades meeting in A. D. 1161, somewhere in the Bijapur District of Kanara, imposes contributions³ on all its constituent elements, so much oil from the oil-pressers, so much cloth from the weavers, so much fruit from the toddy-drawers, so many baskets

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 185.

2. *Ibidem*, Vol. II, p. 130.

3. *Ibidem*, Vol. V, p. 23.

from the basket makers and mat-makers, with a cash impost on every marriage; and the record ends with a mandate to the people of the district and to the 300 of the caste of toddy drawers to preserve this act of religion. In A. D. 1775, according to an inscription¹ of the Yelandur Jagir in the Carnatic, the eighteen castes agree to an addition, for religious purposes, to the land-tax and other taxes payable by them; but, in this case, the act is declared to be done with the consent of the authorities.

Dr. Buhler observes that such self-imposed taxes for religious or charitable purposes are by no means uncommon in modern India; and cites the case of a tax on cotton merchants which was spent on education. Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, once Colonisation Officer in the Lower Chenab Colony, furnished me with a number of modern instances of the practice from the Lyallpur District of the Punjab; and it has an interesting and important bearing upon some modern problems, particularly in connection with popular education.

It is not always themselves that the communal or local corporations tax. In the eleventh century A. D. the "middle-aged citizens," of a town, somewhere near Mamallapuram in Southern India, determine the payments to be made by the non-landowner of the place, traders and hired labourers, with a fine for those "who do not submit to this agreement."² In A. D. 1700, at Belur in the Carnatic, the merchants and town-mayor and temple priests inform the washerman caste as follows³ :—"The tax for your caste is, for a virgin one varaha, for a widow four varaha, the gold to be given as dowry", (or query, on the occasion of a marriage?). In A. D. 1318, at Arsikere in the Carnatic, certain Brahmans engage to defray taxes imposed by the palace, and add :—"That we should pay taxes imposed by the village, seems not to be the custom."⁴ This agreement referred to land transferred to Brahmans by an owner who could not pay his land-revenue.

From sources outside the inscriptions we know of the judicial

1. *Epigraph. Carn.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, of the Yelandur Jagir.
2. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 65.
An inscription of the eleventh century A.D.
3. *Ibidem*, Vol. V, Pt I, No. 6 of Belur.
4. *Ibidem*, Vol. V, Pt I, No. 113 of Arsikere.

authority exercised by many popular bodies over their members. Says the law-giver Brihaspati :—"Forest dwellers should exercise jurisdiction in the jungle; warriors in the camp; merchants in the caravan; farmers, craftsman, artisans, money-lenders, guilds, dancers, people who follow a particular seat, *and robbers*, should be allowed to give their own decisions...families, guilds, caste-unions, who are authorised by the king, ought to decide judicial cases, with the exception of those dealing with deeds of violence..." Besides these tribunals of castes and professions, we hear in the law-books of local tribunals, which were evidently composed of more castes than one.

Brihaspati even goes so far as to formulate a regular law of appeal, lying from the family to the guild, from the guild to the local assembly, from the local assembly to the king's judges; and he describes the penalties as consisting of admonition, reproof and excommunication, and the jurisdiction as specially connected with transgressions against the discipline and special customs of the family or tribe.

The inscriptions do not contain numerous allusions to judicial functions; but some of them indicate a jurisdiction extending far beyond the theory of the law-books. About 1131 A. D., we find a whole town in the Carnatic sentencing the murderer of his son to be trampled by an elephant.¹ In the charter² granted in A. D. 1800, to the printers of calico and inhabitants of the town of great Akola in Mewar, who had deserted their homes by reason of oppression, one of the Maharana's promises is that all crimes committed within the jurisdiction of Akola shall be tried by its inhabitants, who will sit in justice on the offender and fine him according to his faults. There is a southern Indian inscription³ in which a village appears to waive a criminal jurisdiction of its own in favour of the temple authorities. "If a crime or sin becomes public, the God alone shall punish the inhabitants of this village for it.....We the assembly agree to pay a fine if we fail in this through indifference." A Committee for "the supervision of justice in the twelve streets," sitting with a personage described as

1. *Ibidem*. Vol. VIII, No. 80.

2. *Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan*, edition above cited, Vol. I, p. 174.

3. *South Indian, Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 20.

the arbitrator, is mentioned in a Brahman village of Southern India, in an inscription of A. D. 922, which describes the local institution in great detail.¹ Another of A. D. 940-956 records how the Assembly of a village in the Tamil country decided to dispose of certain lands and to fine any person who produced fictitious deeds of title to the same, as well as its own "great men" who might fail by apathy to remove the obstacles put in the way of the purposed disposition of the property.

From the ninth to the thirteenth century A. D., there existed, in the neighbourhood of Sikarpur in the Carnatic, an interesting body known as the 500 Swamis of Ayyavole.² They were religious by origin and are described as consecrating priests; but, like some others of that class, they took to business as merchants and carriers, and they exercised extensive judicial and administrative functions. The jurisdiction is almost like a medieval forerunner of the fateful cession to the East India Company. In a grant of 1150 A.D. the functions are described in the following language:—"In the case of a sack which bursts, an ass which runs away laden with grain, a wounded and fallen body, a cart that has been robbed, a load that has been lifted, a bar of gold that has been seized, a tax that has been evaded, a cry of looting, an assembly connected with caste customs, a bargain that has been made—they are not men to fail...gambling they will not allow." In this grant, the 500 Swamis dispose, among other things, of dues from foreign and local merchants. The doings of this highly privileged body are recorded in inscriptions which extend over a considerable period of time.

This singular precedent for the firman which conferred the Diwani upon the East India Company does not stand alone in the inscriptions. The Syrian Christians of a district in Travancore possess a plate,³ believed to date from the 14th century A. D., which confers a title of honour with many jurisdictions and privileges. "We gave him the

1. *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report for 1904-05*, pp. 142—145.
2. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 287.
Epigraph. Carn., Vol. VII, pt. 1, No. 118 of *Sikarpur*.
Epigraph. Carn., Vol. VIII, No. 268 of *Sorab*, and Vol. XI, No. 105 of *Devanagere*.
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 290—297.

right of festive clothings, house pillars, the income that accrues, the export trade, monopoly of trade in the four quarters...We also gave the oil-mongers and the five classes of artisans as his slaves. We also gave...the brokerage on articles that may be measured or weighed" (a sort of *dharat* or octroi) "and also the customs levied on these articles...We gave this as property to him and to his children's children in due succession."

A Jew, named Joseph, received, apparently on behalf of his community, similar concessions in Cochin.¹ He was to "preserve the proceeds of the customs duty as they were collected day by day," and "to receive the landlord's portion of the rent on land." "If any injustice be done to them, they may withhold the customs and the tax on balances and remedy themselves the injury done to them. Should they themselves commit a crime, they are themselves to have the investigation of it,"—A clause which goes beyond the *Diwani* and extends to the *Faujdar* authority also.

Beside exercising a civil and sometimes also a criminal jurisdiction, taxing themselves and their inferiors, and assigning the proceeds of taxation for religious and other purposes, our manifold and multiform corporations figure constantly as the managers of the landed estate. I deliberately call them managers, because the word "proprietor" has very misleading associations, and it is generally plain enough that the right of permanent occupancy (often carrying with it a right to sell, mortgage or exchange) belonged to individuals. Sometimes the language of the grant implies that the "great assembly of the village" or "the great men," or whatever other title may be assigned to the organ of communal body, are themselves the donors. For instance, in the 29th year of the Cola King Rajaraja I, the citizens of a town give for temple purposes "land which is not divided into house sites and which is the common property of the city." On the other hand, the editor² of a number of copper plate grants of the Faridpur District of Eastern Bengal, in the time of Dharmaditya notes that the purchaser of land from a private

1. For another similar case, See *Epigraph. Ind.* Vol. III, p. 69.

2. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, July 1910, p. 214.

owner applied to the district government and to the Mahattaras, or leading men of the village; and that the assent of the latter was evidently required. These leading men, judging from the variety and character of their names, were of different castes. In one of the plates, apparently affecting village common, it is noted that the common folk also were informed. It seems clear that their assent was not essential to the gift.

In the eleventh century A.D., we find the "middle-aged citizens," effecting a partition of land and trees, and arranging that the trees on the causeways between the rice fields shall remain common. In another Southern Indian inscription, the members of two village assemblies agree on the amalgamation of their estates, for the convenience of a shrine to which the king had granted the revenue of their lands. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the Arsikere taluq of the Carnatic, "the people of the place" together with "the great senior merchant," and certain others, apparently headmen and local functionaries, decide a boundary dispute between themselves and an adjoining Agrahara. In another Southern Indian Inscription, about 200 years later, "all the people of the Nad (or district) thirty" decide a similar dispute with a neighbouring Mahant. The management of irrigation, of charitable gifts and bequests, of the common fund for village expenses, of common property or proprietary rights, for instance the right to part of the out turn of the village looms and to unpaid labour from village menials, arrangements for the supplies of officials on tour and for the village or communal bodies which figure in the inscriptions. There are ominous references to the talking which went on. In fact, "elequent at assemblies" is an otiose epithet in the eulogies of the worthy citizens

Communal bodies, in the Southern India of the Cola kings, frequently undertake obligations in connection with grants to temples. Sometimes the inscriptions record that they have received money for the land and for the redemption of the taxes upon it, and they allot land accordingly. Sometimes they receive sheep, and agree, in return, to supply *ghee* for the temple lamps. Sometimes they receive payment in the form of exemption from a tax. Sometimes money is

deposited with the shrine of Chandesvara, the being in whose name the money affairs of temples are generally conducted. The village assembly borrows this money from the shrine, engaging to pay interest to the temple in the form of rice or money. In a Nasik Cave Inscription, recorded in Volume VIII of the *Epigraphia Indica*, we have an endowment invested with guilds (the weavers' guild being specially mentioned)—which undertake to pay interest to provide for the donor's objects. There must have been great confidence in the permanence and solvency of these guilds. Plainly they enjoyed good credit and were in the habit of holding treasure for common purposes. From elsewhere we gather that some guilds had a private coinage, described by Buhler as guild tokens.

The bodies whose common affairs are thus conducted, include trade guilds and groups of trade guilds, whole villages, whole towns, the citizens of a particular bazar or street, and whole districts. The executive assemblies have a bewildering variety of names, and in the Southern Indian Inscriptions there is a preference for arithmetical designations, the 60 husbandmen, the 500 Brahmans, the Belvola 300, the 500 Mahajans, the Siharakhi 12, and so forth. In the inscriptions of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, reference to an assembly, Sabha or Mahasabha, is rare; the authority being described by some simpler title, as "all the subjects and farmers," "the elders of the village," "the fifty house-holders of the village and the chief farmers," and so forth. How these bodies were constituted we can for the most part only guess. But two inscriptions¹ engraved on the wall of a temple in the 10th century A.D., give such an interesting picture of the methods of selection in a particular Brahman settlement, that I make no apology for a detailed account of them.

This settlement was evidently a cantankerous one, and the Cola king, Parantaka I, who began to rule in A.D. 907-08 and conquered Madura, twice sent a royal officer to sit with the popular assembly and settle its constitution. On the first occasion, property, age, and educational qualifications were determined for the candidates. A candidate must own more than a veli of tax-paying land, must be

1. *Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report, 1904-5*, pp. 131-145

living in a house built on his own site, must be below the age of 60 and above 30, be known to be learned in the Vedas and Shastras and to be conversant with business, must possess honest earnings and have a pure mind. Our Modern Municipal Manuals do not go into the question of honest earnings and a pure mind. Otherwise there is much here that recalls those admirable compendia. Further, a candidate must not have sat on any of the committees for the preceding three years (a provision redolent of the true democratic jealousy), and must not be a close relation of any of the great men just retired from membership.

The town is divided into thirty wards. The residents assemble and write down the names of qualified candidates on tickets, which are put into a vessel. An innocent boy then draws the name out of the vessel at random, and the fortunate candidates become members of the Annual Committee, the Garden Committee, the Tank Committee, the Pancavara (apparently judicial) Committee, and the Gold Committee (dealing either with finance, or with money deposited in the local temples, I presume).

On the second occasion the settlement made by the royal officer with the assembly excludes from candidature any committee-man who has failed to give accounts, various other offenders, and the relatives of such persons. A more formal procedure is prescribed for the drawing of the lots; and reference is made to an additional Committee, called the Committee for the supervision of justice in the twelve streets.

I have nowhere in the inscriptions found a trace of any closer approach to election, properly so-called, than in this nomination of the candidates for selection by lot. It is, however, stated by Colonel Todd¹ that the Chohutias, or assessors of justice, who assist the Nagar Seth or chief magistrate in the administration of justice in Rajputana, are elected by their fellow townsmen for each town and village; and, in his description of Jhalra Patan, it appears that each trade is represented by its own Chohutia, who presents a *nazar* on its behalf. Whether the election of which he speaks was election in the modern sense, or

1. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edition above cited, Vol. I, pp. 126 seq.

that method of choice by common acclamation which is often found in modern India, does not appear, but all the indications appear to be in favour of the later.

We see then, scattered over 10 or more centuries in time, and over a great portion of the Indian continent, but far more numerous in the peninsula and in the south than in the plains of the north, the persistently recurring evidences, graven upon stone and copper, and for the most part quite above the suspicion of fabrication, of a certain type of institution. There may be many more yet to be found; and there is certainly yet much work for the investigation in the extraction of their full historical significance. The institution which they disclose to us is a body taking many forms, sometimes territorial, sometimes a guild or a group of guilds or a caste or a group of castes, but always exercising certain functions of self-government, subordinate to the royal authority. Sometimes such a body makes concessions of land or the right to take specified taxes to a ruler, in return for his protection; as though we had before us examples of the growth of royal power by consent or by social contract. Often it is the ruler who makes concessions, and now and then these concessions look like dangerous surrenders of sovereign power, and suggest that the Moghals in their later days of weakness acted upon earlier precedent of the facile surrender of authority. The liberty of association and the grant of privileges and jurisdictions were carried very far, but in these records we naturally find what was given rather than what was withheld or resumed.

These bodies often tax themselves, and their likes, and sometimes others. They occasionally lay down, or anyhow state, the law. They exercise an extensive jurisdiction in what we should now term civil disputes, and a narrower criminal jurisdiction with powers which very rarely extend beyond those of admonition and fine. In certain of their forms they manage landed estate, arrange partitions, settle boundaries with adjoining authorities, determine questions of irrigation, and deal with common funds, charitable gifts, the supply of commodities to officials on tour (the eternally surviving problem of *rasad rasani*) and the provision of certain requirements of religious institutions. Some of the guilds are evidently in the habit of hoarding treasure for

common purposes, and it is a usual practice to place investments in their hands. There is no trace of election in the modern sense, as a process by which the formally recorded votes of a majority determine the choice between rival candidates; but there is a single highly interesting case in which the candidates for office in a Brahman settlement depend for their nomination upon the residents of the wards, and are thereafter selected by lot from among the whole body of nominees. Often the members of the governing body are described by names which suggest that they are the heads of particular castes or of leading families. The impression made upon me by the inscriptions which I have studied is that the system was ordinarily oligarchical.

I have given you with the help of a little lamp a glimpse of a great mine. The dark places are full of possibilities, and the diligent seeker may light upon the gem.

Early Historic Cities and Towns of the Panjab

DEVENDRA HANDA

The present Panjab State which came into existence in November 1966 is only a portion of the bigger Punjab... 'the land of the five rivers, i.e., the country enclosed and watered by the Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum including the table-land of Sirhind between the Sutlej and the Yamuna and the Sindh-Sagar Doab or the wedge of country between the Jhelum and the Indus. This entire area formed one geograpico-cultural unit in the ancient days and was known as the Sapta Sindhu in the Vedic time.¹ By virtue of its geographical situation, it occupies a unique position as it has acted as the window of India towards Asia and the world at large,...the highway connecting her interior with the Asiatic mainland, and the glacis of the citadel of the Gangetic valley, where the traditional and conservative values of civilization matured in a quiet and sedate atmosphere.² The cultural spread arising in the regions of western Asia, i.e., Mesopotamia, Syria and Iran which were more favourably situated for the birth and spread of civilization, particularly in agriculture and domestication of animals³, had been entering India through the Panjab (and the Arabian Sea) in the proto-historic times and influencing the life of the people here.⁴ Even during the early historic times, it has remained as important as ever — many as important battles have been fought

1. *Rigveda*, VIII 24, 27.
2. Buddha Prakash, *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab* (Delhi, 1964), P.V.
3. V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (London, 1958), pp. 26ff.
4. The Panjab has been cradle of India's earliest cultures and a large number of Sothian, Harappan and Post-Harappan sites, have been discovered in the Panjab, the antecedents of which can perhaps be found in the early village cultures of Sind, Baluchistan and Afghanistan.

EARLY HISTORIC CITIES AND TOWNS OF PANJAB

on its rivers and plains⁵ and it has seen the rise and fall of a large number of cities and towns.⁶ An account of those cities and towns of the early historic period (c. 6th century B.C. to c. 650 A. D.) for which we have got literary and/or archaeological evidence and which are situated in the present day Panjab State, has been given in this paper.⁷ The chronological horizons for different ceramic industries, which are our main archaeological evidence and have been mentioned here, are as follows :—

Harappan	(H)	=Circa 2350 B.C. to C. 1750 B.C.	
Painted Gray Ware	(PGW)	=C. 1100 B.C. to C. 800 B.C.	
Gray Ware	(GW)	=Slightly later than the P.G.W.	
Northern Black Polished Ware	(NBPW)	=C. 5th Century B.C. to 2nd Century B.C.	
Black-slipped Ware	(BSW)	=Maurya period	
Sunga-Kushan pottery	(SK)	=2nd Century B.C. to 2nd Century A.D.	
Black-and-red ware, Black Polished Red ware, Red Polished ware and Plain Red ware	(BR)	} First-Second Century A.D.	
Rangmahal	(R)		Second-Third Century A.D.

5. Panjab has been bearing the brunt of foreign invaders like the Achaemenians, Macedonians, Sakas, Kushanas, Hunas and Muslims in the historical times and protecting the rest of the country.
6. That Panjab possessed a large number of flourishing cities and towns is amply attested to by Greek writers. Between the Jhelum and the Beas only, 500 cities have been referred to by Strabo (McCrinkle, Alexander's Invasion in India, p. 112). There is, however, ample literary and archaeological evidence to show that the whole tract was quite thickly populated during the early historic times.
7. An alphabetic order has been followed in describing those cities and towns.

S.No.	Site	Location	Yield	Details	Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Abohar	30°9'N and 74°16'E in district Ferozepure	Yaudheya coins	It lay on the high road from Multan to Delhi. According to tradition it was founded by Jaura, a grand-son of the legendary Raja Rasalu and was the capital of Bhattiana. It was named Ubohhar or the 'pool of Uboh' after Jaura's wife.	IGI, I, p. 450-1; CAGI, p. 207; BMC, p. CL.
2.	Achal Saheb	District Gurdaspur	G W, B S, and B.R.wares		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
3.	Ajaram	District Hoshiarpur	BR, BS and Red Polished wares; ancient relics ranging from the Mauryan period to the present time. Notable amongst the relics are a Sunga terracotta and a later Vishnu image.	Ajaram lay on the road which connected Delhi with Kashmir in the pre-Muslim times. The village is situated on a 30 ft. high mound with an area of about 3,000 square feet. A local tradition connects Ajaram with Sahasrabahu. It is under excavation by the Panjab Archaeological Department.	Hindustan (Hindi) dated Nov. 12, 1969.
4.	Alia	District Amritsar, tahsil Tarn Taran	G, B S and B R wares		IAR, 1965-66, p. I. 69.
5.	Argan Manga	District Amritsar	G, B S and B R wares		IAR, 1963-64, p. 17.

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| 6. Arnauli | 3 Km. NNW of Morinda on the kaccha road to Rupar District Gurdaspur | Late H, P G and early Historic wares
G,BS,BR wares | The mound is low one and is just adjacent to the village | IAR, 1962-63, p. 17; 64-65, p.1. 61.
IAR, 1961-62, p. 37. |
| 7. Balaggam | | | | IAR, 1962-63, p. 17.
IAR, 1961-62, p. 37. |
| 8. Basare-ke-Gillan | District Amritsar | G and BS wares | | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 9. Basrai | District Gurdaspur | G, BS and B R wares | | IAR, 1964-65, p. I. 61. |
| 10. Bhagtana-Bahor-wala | District Gurdaspur | G, BS and BR wares | | IAR, 1961-62, p. 37. |
| 11. Bharaiwali | District and tahsil Amritsar | G, BS and BR wares | | |
| 12. Bhawani | District Gurdaspur | G, BS and BR wares | | JRAS, 1907, p. 91. |
| 13. Bhawanipur | District Hoshiarpur | Ephthalite coins | It fell on the way of the massengers who were sent by Vasishtha to bring back Bharta from the Kekaya country, after they had crossed the Saraswati and the Saradanda rivers. The city has not been identified but it probably lay somewhere on the upper courses of the Beas and the Sutlej in the country of the | Ram. (Bengal Ed.), II, 70, XV. (Cf. Kulingas of the Bombay and South Indian recensions); Mbh., VI. 10, 38; Moti |
| 14. Bhulinga | | | | |

1	2	3	4	5	6
				Bhulingas, in the vicinity of the Sarandandas which alongwith the Uda-mbras, the Tilakhalas, the Madrakas and the Yugandharas, formed the Salva confederation. According to a tradition moderen Ghuram (Kuhram or Ramgarh, 30° 7' N and 76° 33' E, 26 miles south of Rajpura in District Patiala) was the abode of the maternal grand-father of Rama. The extensive ruins here mark its former greatness. The tradition, however, needs confirmation.	Chandra P.99; Buddha Prakash, PSMAP, p. 110; IGI, II, p. 305.
15.	Bijliwal	District Gurdaspur	Early historic pottery		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
16.	Biniwal	District Hoshiarpur	Ephthalite Huna coins		JRAS, 1907, p. 91.
17.	Bussy	On the road from Sirhind to Morinda	A Bactrian coin		Prinsep, EIA, p. 52.
18.	Chandigarh	Union Territory, Capital of Panjab and Haryana	H and early historic pottery	Explored by the author.	
19.	Chandpur	31°1'N and 76°38'E about 2 Km. NE of Dher Majra in	PGW and a pre-Gupta struck Copper	Chandpur has an old mound which has yielded these remains.	Olaf Prufer, Dher Majra Report, p. 2;

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	district Rupar	coin		
20.	Charan 31°3'N and 76°14E, in tahsil Rahon, district Jullundur District Gurdaspur	PG and NBP wares	Antiquarian remains obtained from the mound here.	JNSI, XV, pp. 171-2; AI, X-XI, p.139. AI, X-XI, p.139 & 144.
21.	Chaurath	Early historic remains		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
22.	Chawinda	G, BS and BR wares		IAR, 1963-64, p. 28.
23.	Chhat. 30°37'N and 76°47E in tahsil Rajpura, district Patiala	PG and NBP wares	It has a fairly extensive mound at places rising to 50 feet.	AI, X-XI, pp. 139 and 144.
24.	Chitorgarh	Early historic relics		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
25.	Dalachak	Early historic relics		<i>Ibid.</i>
26.	Daleywal	Ephthalite coins		JRAS, 1907, p. 91.
27.	Deo	G, BS and BR wares		IAR, 1965-66, p. I. 69.
28.	Dera-Baba- Nanak	Early historic pottery		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
29.	Dhandari Kalan 8 Km. SE of Ludhi- ana in the same dist- rict	PG plain red and SK pottery	The small mound is cut into two parts by the railway line.	IAR, 1964-65, p. I. 63 and IV, 5.
30.	Dholbaha 15 miles north of Hoshiarpur in that	Old sculptures : Jain, Buddha	Rodgers recorded the exhumation of many and old Jain and Hindu pur District	PDG-Hoshiar pur District

1	2	3	4	5	6
		district	and Saiva	sculptures from this place while digging the foundations for a Thana. Many of the sculptures were collected in a temple, many lay scattered in the fields and some were removed to distant places. Rodgers, however, did not mention any specific date for these sculptures. Excavations were carried out at this site by the Department of Archaeology, Punjab State, in 1966 and the material obtained proves that the place was a centre of the Jain, Buddha and Saiva religions during the period from third century to fifteenth century A. D. A site museum has been set up at the place by the State Government. Its ancient name may have been Dhavalavaha in ancient times.	(Lahore, 1806) p. 14; Rodgers, p. 37; Navabharata Times, June 16, 1966.
31.	Dhuleta	District Jullundur	PG, BS and BR wares	It has a mound on the right bank of the Sutlej.	IAR, 1963-64, p. 28.
32.	Dhunda	District Amritsar. tahsil Tarn Taran			IAR, 1965-66, p. 1. 69.
33.	Dodiana	District Hoshiarpur	Kushan coins,		Navabharata

			old style bricks and sculptures			Times, June 16, 1966.
			G, BS and BR wares	District Gurdaspur		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
			G, BS and BR wares	District Gurdaspur		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
			Black-painted red and Red-polished wares of circa first-second century A.D.	District Amritsar		IAR, 1963-64, p. 28.
			G, BS and BR wares	-do-		<i>Ibid.</i>
			G, BS and BR wares	-do-		<i>Ibid.</i>
			G, BS and BR wares	Tahsil and district Amritsar		<i>Ibid.</i>
			Ephthalite coins	District Hoshiarpur		JRAS, 1907, p. 91.
			Black-painted red and Red Polished wares	District Gurdaspur		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
			G, BI and BR wares	District Hoshiarpur		<i>Ibid.</i>
			G, BI and BR wares	District Hoshiarpur		<i>Ibid.</i>
34.	Dodwan					
35.	Fattupur Dher					
36.	Fatehpur Rai-putan					
37.	Ghari					
38.	Ghugatwind-Hinduan					
39.	Gopalpura					
40.	Hanand					
41.	Harden					
42.	Hardo Rawal Khurd					
43.	Haripur					

44. Haripur District Jullundur, SK and medicine-
tahsil Phillaur, on the val glazed wares
right bank of the
Sutlej IAR, 1963-64,
p. 28.
45. Hathur About 25 km. south- NBP ware, Gadhaiya The mound is very extensive
west of Jagraon in coins, coins of Saman- and indicates the existence here
district Ludhiana tadeva, broken sculp- of a very large city. According
tures (one being a to a tradition the present name
Varaha image), etc. of the town comes from its
ancient name Arhatapura which
was given to the place because
of its association with Mahavira,
the Jain Tirthankara who is
said to have passed a 'chaumasa'
here. Information of
the discovery of
NBP ware and
Gadhanya coins
from Sh. S. S.
Talwar (Arch.
Officer, Pb.) and
Sh. H. L. Jain of
Raikot respecti-
vely. The place
was explored by
the author also.
See also PDG,
Ludhiana, 1904
(Lahore, 1907),
p. 227.
46. Janer About 10 km. north Coins ranging The present village is perched
of Moga on road to from the Indo- on the top of a large mound
Zira, in district Scythain to about 7,000 feet square and 30
Ferozepur Muhammadan feet high. It is situated close to
times; large size the old bed of the Sutlej.
bricks; old scu- ASR, XIV pp.
67-68; Rodgers,
p. 32; Sachau
Alberuni's
India, p. 206;
The Tribune,

Jan. 1, 1968.

ptifures, beads,
etc.

Early historic
relics

BS wares

NBP ware

47. Jaura Chhitran District Gurdaspur

48. Jhingran About 14 Km. SSE
of Rupar

49. Jullundur The district head-
quarters

IAR, 1961-62,
p. 37.

A small and low mound situated about two furlongs north of the village yields the old sherds (Explored by author)

The NBP ware was obtained AI, IX, p. 131; from the Quila Moballa here. The Panini, IX 2, present name is derived from 137; Mbh. II. 48, 13; Brihat- In ancient times it was also known samhita, X, II; as Trigartta. These names find XIV 25; XVI 22; mention in many ancient books. XVII; 16; Yogi- It was visited by Yuan Chwang nitantra I, II; and Yuan Chin. It is sometimes II. 2 and 9; stated that the council under Padma Purana, Kanishka was held in the Jalan- II, pp. 321 and dhara convent. When Yuan 347; Stein, Chwang visited it, it was upwards Rajtarangini of two miles in circuit. It is iden- p. 81; Beal SI- tified by some scholars with Pto- YUKI pp. 31; lemy's Kulindrine also. About CASR V pp. 145- 1088 A.D. it was taken by Ibrahim 52; CAGI pp. Shah of Ghor, and under the 115-19; Dey, Moghals it was the capital of a p. 205; Law, Sarkar. In 1757, it was sacked T A I, ch. 12;

1	2	3	4	5	6
				by the Sikhs and was annexed by Ranjit Singh in 1811 A.D. After the first Sikh War it fell into the hands of the British in 1846 A.D.	JRAS, 1900, p. 540; JRAS, N. S, XIII, p. 563; JASB, 1880, p. 10; IGI, I, p. 421; etc.
50.	Kakka Kandiala	District Amritsar, Tahsil Tarn Taran	SK Relics		IAR, 1964-65, p. I. 61.
51.	Kandila	District Gujdaspur	Early historic remains		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
52.	Kartarpur	District Jullundur		It has been identified by Fleet with ancient Kartarpura mentioned in Samudraguptas' Allahabad Pillar inscription. The identification, however, is based only on sound analogy and can safely be rejected as Kartarpur is a recent town and has not yielded any old relics.	Fleet, CII, III, p. cf. CAGI, pp. 203-4 and JIH, XIV, p.30
53.	Katpalon	District Jullundur	H, PG, BS and BR wares	The old mound of Katpalon is situated on the right bank of the Sutlej.	IAR, 1963-64, p. 28.
54.	Kazarwal	District Amritsar, Tahsil Tarn Taran	G,BS and BK wares		IAR, 1965-66, p. I. 69.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---|--|---|
| 55. Khabba | District Amritsar | G, BS and BR
wares | IAR, 1963-64,
p. 28. |
| 56. Khanuwal | District Gurdaspur | G, BS and BR
wares | IAR, 1961-62,
p. 37. |
| 57. Kharali | District Hoshiarpur | Ephthalite
coins | JRAS, 1907,
p. 91. |
| 58. Khokhar | District Gurdaspur | Early historic
relics | IAR, 1961-62,
p. 37. |
| 59. Kotli Mallian | District Amritsar | G, BS and BR
wares | IAR, 1963-64,
p. 28. |
| 60. Loharanwali | District Gurdaspur | Early historic
relics | IAR, 1961-62,
p. 37. |
| 61. Machharai | District Gurdaspur | Early historic
relics | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 62. Machharala | -do- | Early historic
relics | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 63. Machhiwara | District Ludhiana;
about 20 miles east of
Ludhiana on the old
Ldh.-Rupar road. | A Bactrian coin
old mound and
large sized
bricks. | PDG-Ludhi-
ana, Distt.
(Lahore, 1907)
p. 22; Prinsep,
op. cit, p. 52. |

It lies on the ridge over the Buddha Nala, a branch of the Sutlej representing its old bed. According to a local tradition, it is mentioned in the Mbh. There is, however, reason to believe that a large city existed in the neighbourhood of the present town as the ground all around is covered with old mounds. It is connected with the Sikh history also and is a famous Sikh pilgrim-

	1	2	3	4	5	6
					mage. The present name seems to have been derived from the Sanskrit Matsya-vaha.	
64.	Makhan-Windi	District Amritsar	Early historic relics			IAR, 1963-64, p. 28.
65.	Malowal	District Gurdaspur	Early historic relics			IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
66.	Manasawal	District Hoshiarpur	Ephthalite coins			JRAS, 1907, p. 91.
67.	Mandiala	District and tahsil Amritsar	BS, plain red and SK wares			IAR, 1964-65, p. 1. 61.
68.	Mari Panwan	District Gurdaspur	Early historic relics			IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
69.	Mattewal	District and tehsil Amritsar	BS, plain red and SK wares			IAR, 1963-64, p. 28; 64-65 p. 1. 61.
70.	Nagar (31°5N and 75°5 IE)	District Jullundur, tahsil Phillaur about 7 km. NE of the later District Gurdaspur	H(?), PG, and BS wares		A huge mound exists, here, near the right bank of the Sutlej.	IAR, 1963-64, p. 28.
71.	Nangal	District Gurdaspur	Early historic relics			IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
72.	Nir	District Jullundur, tahsil Phillaur	SK pottery		The ancient site lies on the right bank of the Sutlej.	IAR, 1963-64, p. 28.
73.	Nurmahal	About 25 km. south of Jullundur in that very district	One silver punched marked coin, one copper		The present name comes from Nur-Jahan, the famous Empress of Jahangir, in whose honour a	ASR, XIV, pp. 62-5; BMC, p. CXV.

- piece of Raju-
Badshahi Sarai was built here.
Badshahi Sarai was built here.
Large bricks and ancient ruins
indicate its past importance and
the site is well worth digging up.
- bul and nume-
rous other
coins ranging
from the ear-
liest times to the
present day
Early historic
relics
- 74 Padda District Curdaspur IAR, 1961-62,
p. 37.
75. Pathankot District Gurdaspur It has been identified with an-
cient Patanaprastha mentioned by
Patanjali as a Vahikagrama.
Audumbara coins; coins of
Ziulus, Vono-
nes, Gondo-
pharnes, Kani-
shka and
Huvishka
PG and histori-
cal red wares
76. Patharheri Chotti District Rupor
77. Patti 31° 17'N and 74° 52'E;
about 45 km. South
of Amritsar, in that
very district.
- Cunngham identified Patti with
Beal, Sijjuki, p.
Chinapo-ti (Chinapati) of Yuan
169; CAGI, p.
Chwang. The name Chinapati is
stated to have been given by
Kanishka who fixed this place
pp. 291-3, cf.
as the residence of his Chinese
Buddha Prakash
hostages. Archaeological evide-
nce is, however, still needed to
prove the antiquity of the town
with Chine, 11
miles from

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
- and corroborate the identification.
- Amritsar, on road to Sialkot (Presidential Address, Pb. Hist. Conf. Patiala, 1965, p. 14.)
- V. S. Agrawal identifies it with Panini, IV. 2, Phalgunivaha mentioned by Panini, 122; Agarwal, and Buddha Prakash holds that p. 69; Buddha the name of the Phagwara locality is a survival of the kingdom of Bhagalas who lived adjacent to the Saubhas and whose king is called Phegeus by Diodoros and Phege- las by Curtius. Both the identifi- cations seem to be based only on sound analogies and have no ar- chaeological evidence to support them as no site at or around Phag- wara has yielded any remains as can indicate such an early date for the town.
- It is situated on the right bank of the Sutlej and has been identified with Panini's Phalakapura by
78. Phagwara District Jullundur
79. Phillaur District Jullundur (31°1'N and 75°48' E), on the right
- Agrawal, 1.73

- bank of the Sutlej
- Agrawal. Archaeological evidence to support such an early date or the town is, however, still a disideratum.
80. Rahimabad District Gurdaspur Early historic relics IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
81. Rahon (31°4'N and 76°8'E)
District Jullundur It is said to have been founded before the Christian era by one Raja Raghob who gave it the name of Raghupur, which is still used by some Hindus. It was captured by the Ghorewaha Rajputs in the time of Muhammed of Ghor whose leader remained it after a lady called Raho. IGI, I. p. 424
82. Rahon District Rupat,
tehsil Kharar G and early historical red wares IAR, 1964-65, p. I. 61.
83. Raja Sirkap About 3 km. South
of Faridkot Harappan and Rangmahal relics IAR, 1958-59, p. 73.
84. Rajpura District Jullundur SK pottery IAR, 1963-64, p. 28.
85. Rampur District Gurdaspur Early historic relics IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
86. Rohira District Ludhiana
31 km. south of it H,G, SK and M wares IAR, 1964-65, p. IV.5.

1	2	3	4	5	6
87.	Rupar	(31°58' & 76°32'E) now district HQ.	Harappan, PGW, NBPW, Manurya, SK pottery, Audu- mbara, Indo- Parthian, Gupta coins and related re- lics, early and late medieval remains etc.		IAR, 1953-54, pp. 6-7; 54-55, pp. 9-11; Mar- ch of India, VI (3), 1953, pp. 12-16 AI, IX, pp. 123-126; AI, X-XI, p. 141; Lalitakala Nos. 1-2, pp. 121-129; JASB, N.S. XVI, 1950 pp. 89ff; APR, N. Circle, 1911 pp. 18-19; etc. IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
88.	Sakala	District Gurdaspur	G, BS and BR wares		
89.	Salaura	About 8 km. south of Rupar	PGW, Kushan and medieval relics.	The mound of Salura lies very close to that of Para. Both were excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India.	IAR, 1953-54, p. 38; 1954-55, pp. 9-11.
90.	Sanghol (Uccha Pind)	About 34 miles east of Ludhiana on the main road to Chandigarh	Harappan pottery show- ing pre-Hara- ppan influence, PG and BS	The old relics discovered from this site in explorations by vari- ous individuals and excavations by the Panjab State Department of Archaeology (1969) give an dated 30-3-1969.	IAR, 1962-63, p. 17; JNSI, XXX, pp. 220 ff; The Tribune, dated 30-3-1969.

wares; Punch-marked-coins and their moulds, uninscribed cast and die-struck coins of the Kuninda, Indo-Parthian, Sassanian, Yaudheya, Kushan, Gupta, Huna, and Kashmir rulers as also later Muslim coins; A broken red sandstone Buddha head, a headless Buddha figure, a small terracotta figurine of a Jain Tirthankar; terracotta sealings of 6th-7th century A.D., a fragmentary medieval panel acquaintance of the long history of the town. Though the present name may be derived from the ancient Sanskrit name Sanghapura, yet a beautiful terracotta seal of Gupta period with bull to right above and the legend 'Nandipurasya' below provides us with its ancient name Nandipurā. Other terracotta sealings of individuals like Balabhadra and Vishnudasa indicate that it was a flourishing town and a trade-centre of considerable importance in ancient times.

1	2	3	4	5	6
91.	Saprota	District Jullundur	showing a seated Jind figure, etc. PG, BS and BR wares		IAR, 1963-64, p. 28.
92.	Seel	About 14 km. east of Patiala	PG and SK wares		IAR, 1964-65, p. IV. 5.
93.	Shahpur Gorain	District Gurdaspur	Early historic relics		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
94.	Sikander Bhir	Near Ludiana Rly. Station	Early Gupta terracotta seals and sealings	An ancient site named Sikander Bhir near Ldh. Rly. Station is stated to have yielded four clay seals belonging to early Gupta period and similar to those found from Sunet. The ancient site is not traceable now.	APR, Pb. Circle, 1905, p. 49.
95.	Sirhali Kalan	District Amritsar, tehsil Tarn Taran	G, BS and BR wares		IAR, 1965-66 p. I. 69.
96.	Sirhind	District Patiala		The Satadru of Yuan Chwang,	CASR, II, pp.

according to Cunningham, corresponds almost exactly with the large city of Sirhind, which on Varahamihira's evidence seems to have flourished in the first century A.D. The Sirhindras of the Puranas were probably the people who lived in this region and gave it the name. It is connected with the Sikh history also and is now a famous Sikh pilgrimage.

IAR, 1962-63,
p. 17.

ASR, XIV,
pp. 55-58;
Watters, p.294;
Vaidya, p. 256;
BMC, p. exv.

G and BS wares

Cunningham identified it with Yuan Chwang's Tamasavana. Katyayana is said to have lived here and Kanishka is said to have held the Second Buddhist Conference here. Yuan Chwang's account mentions here a Buddhist monastery having an Asokan Stupa more than 200 feet high and many other topes. Tamasavana finds mention in Divyavadana also. The antiquity of the site is proved beyond doubt by terracotta and stone sculptures.

District Amritsar

97. Sohian Kalan

District Jullundur

98. Sultanpur
(Raghunathpur)

6

5

4

3

2

1

res, large sized bricks and coins including those of Satrap Rajuvula.

99. Sunet
- About 6 km. west of Ludhiana on road to Moga; 30°53' and 75°50' E
- Ancient coins and terracotta seals and sealings.
- Being situated on an extensive mound known as Uccha Pind. Old coins belonging to Hermaeus, Indo-Scythians, Indo-Sassanians, Kundas, Yaudheyas; Kushanas and terracotta seals and sealings belonging to Yaudheya, Kushan, early and late Gupta periods and a large number of Yaudheya coin-moulds indicate its being a Yaudheya mint-site in old days. Agarawal derives the present name from Saunetra, mentioned by Panini and probably founded by Sunetra, a Kuru prince of the Mbh.
- ASR, XIV, pp. 65-67 139-45
 pl. 31; ASB, LIII (1884)pp. 138-39; Rodgers' p.49; Rodgers' catalogue pp. iv, 130-31; JRAS 1901 p.98; APR,Pb. Circle, 1907-8, p. 45; APR, N.C., 1907-8; 196-17 p. 7; Sahni, pp. 32-37; JRAS, 1901,p. 98; JNSI, IV, pp. 1-2 and 47-48; XIX, Pt. I, pp. 71-2; XX; pt. 1, pp. 66-68; XXVII, pt. 1, pp. 1-2; XXIX,

100. Talapura District Rupar H(?) and G wares pt. 2, pp. 30; XXX, pp. 221-2.
 IAR, 1953-54, p. 38.
101. Tapiala District and tahsil Amritsar SK pottery IAR, 1964-65, p. I. 61.
102. Taragarh District Amritsar G, B S and BR wares There are two mounds here. IAR, 1962-63, p. 17; 1963-64, p. 28.
103. Theri District Ferozepur Old coins 41 coins ranging from the times of Vasudeva Kushan to those of Delhi Sultans, Delhi Emperors and the Sikhs were obtained from this place. PDE-Ferozepur Distt. (Lahore, 1910), App. II, p.1.
104. Tihar About 40 km. West of Ludhiana in that district. Old coins, terracotta seals and sealings, copper and stone seals, beads, carved bricks, etc. Tihar is situated on the high bank of the Sutlej and tradition identifies it with the Vairata of the Mbh. The ancient site is said to have been washed away by the river but the mound is said to have yielded old coins, terracotta sealings, impressions of Yaudheya coins in clay, beads, dice, large carved bricks etc. Gaz. Ludhiana Dt. 1888-89, p. 20; PDG-Ldh. Dt. (Lahore-1904) pp. 13-14; IGI I. p. 425.
105. Vadala Bhittewadh District Amritsar G and BS wares IAR, 1962-63, p. 17.
106. Vadala Dogran District Amritsar Black-painted IAR, 1963-64,

1	2	3	4	5	6
			red and red polished wares		p. 28.
107.	Vadala Granthian District Gurdaspur		G, BS and BR wares.		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.
108.	Vadala Viram District Amritsar		G and BS wares		IAR, 1962-63, p. 17.
109.	Wazir Bhaullar District Amritsar		H,G and SK wares		
110.	Wurpur District Gurdaspur		Early historic relics		IAR, 1961-62, p. 37.

Besides the names listed above, there is certainly a large number of early historic sites in the present State of the Punjab still to be explored. Many of the already discovered protohistoric sites may also yield early historic relics when excavated. The number of yearly historic sites of the Punjab will thus increase considerably when the entire area is explored and the known protohistoric sites are excavated in due course of time.

Abbreviations used in this paper

- Agrawal V. S. Agrawal's India as known to Panini (Varanasi, 1963).
 AI Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi).
 APR Annual Progress Report.
 ASR Archaeological Survey Report.
 BMC Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum (London, 1936) by John Allan.
 Brihat Sam Brihat Samhita of Varahamihira.
 CAGI Cunnigham's Ancient Geography of India (Varanasi, 1963).
 CASR Cunnigham's Archaeological Survey Report.
 EIA Essays on Indian Antiquities by James Prinsep (ed. Edward Thomas, London, 1858).
 IGI Imperial Gazetteer of India.
 IAR Indian Archaeology, A Review.
 IMC Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Oxford, 1906) by V. A. Smith.
 JASB Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
 JNSI Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
 JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 Mbh. Mahabharata
 Padma P. Padma Purana
 Proc. ASB Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
 PSMAP Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab by Buddha Prakash.
 Rodgers C. J. Rodgers' revised list of objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab (Lahore, 1891).
 Rodgers' Catalogue C. J. Rodgers' catalogue of coins, Part III (Calcutta, 1895).
 Sahni Birbal Sahni's Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India.
 TAI Tribes in Ancient India by B. C. Law.
 Vaidya P.L. Vaidya's edition of Divyavadana (Darbhanga, 1959).
 Watters Thomas Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.

II Some Sculptures From Kharar

Kharar is situated about 15 km. north-west of Chandigarh on the main road to Rupar in the present Punjab State. To the south-west of the town is a large tank which is said to have been got constructed by Aja, father of king Dasaratha and is known after him as Aja Sarovara.¹ Rodgers has recorded the existence of many fragments of ancient sculptures evidently of Jaina origin, lying under the pipal tree and by the sides of modern temples at the north-west corner of the tank.² Some more sculptured remains were noticed by him close by at Chuhron-ki-majri and were worshipped by the sweepers. Large bricks were also found.³ The present writer has also obtained some interesting relics from Kharar which throw a welcome light on the religious history of the place during the medieval period and are brought to the notice of the savants through this paper.

BRAHMA : This small sculpture measures 8x5 inches and is broken and much worn out (Fig. 1). The iconographic features, however, are quite clear. The figure is three-faced and wears a jatamukuta, ear-rings and a lower garment. The god is shown four-handed holding a ladle in the upper right hand, a manuscript in the upper left and a rosary in the lower right. The lower left arm is broken. The sculpture seems to belong to circa 12th century A. D.

BUDDHA : This is also a small sculpture measuring 6x5 inches (Fig. 2). Buddha is shown seated on a rock represented by criss-cross lines on the face of the seat. He is wearing an upper garment and sitting in the Bhumisparsha pose. The figure is in the round and the folds of the upper garment can be seen on the back also. Execution is very rough and the stone used is marble. The sculpture was discovered with the preceding one from a Siva temple on the ghat of the tank. The rough execution suggests a later date—late medieval period

1. *Kalyana* (Tirthanka), Jan. 1957, p. 67.

2. C. J. Rodgers, *Revised List of Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1891, p. 54.

3. *Ibid.*

for the sculpture.

Besides these, there were some fragments of sculptures and architectural stones lying in the premises of the above mentioned temple. A Vishnu sculpture belonging to the medieval period has been established inside the temple and is besmeared with paint. The mounds at Kharar and Mundi-Kharar (about 10 km. east of the former) also yield medieval and late medieval pottery. No Buddhist relics belonging to the post-Harsa period have been found from the Punjab, so the Buddha sculpture discovered from Kharar is of unique importance as



Fig. 1 *Barhma*



Fig. 2 *Buddha*

it refutes the theory that Buddhism vanished from this region after Harsha Vardhana and survived only in the hills. The discovery of this sculpture indicates that Buddhism was prevalent in this region, may be in a very limited population, even during the late medieval period.

We thus see that Kharar which was a religious centre inhabited by the Bhagavatas, Saivas, Jains and Buddhists during the medieval period has lost much of its religious sanctity now. A fair is held here on the Kartika Purinima and people shed off their sins by taking a dip in the tank here.

Judicial System of Maharaja Ranjit Singh

RAJ KUMAR ARORA

Nature of the System

The law administered during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was customary. No distinction was made between criminal and civil cases. As there was complete absence of any written law, or law digests or procedures of law, so the administration of justice rested on the whim and caprice of the person deputed for the purpose. "There were no written systems of laws in existence in the days of Ranjit Singh. Judicial decisions were made in accordance with the customary principles. The procedure was crude and simple, there being no distinction between ordinary, civil and criminal cases"¹ "During Ranjit Singh's time the judicial system was simple. There were no graded courts where the decisions from the lower courts to the higher were heard,"² "The administration of justice during the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was simple and expedient. There was no hierarchy of courts—low or high."³ "They (the Sikhs) have jails, but no written civil or criminal laws."⁴ "Custom and caprice were the substitutes for legal codes."⁵

It is quite unhistorical to judge Ranjit Singh's judicial administration from present day standards. Every age and every people have their own characteristics which are the product of circumstances. This simple method of justice suited well to the people of Punjab. Those people, who had been born and bred up in traditions and customs, liked that system of justice. "Subject to the influence of Hindu law, the administration of justice of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was primitive and archaic, nevertheless, the system substantially served the ends of society."⁶ "It was most congenial to the temper of the

1. G. L. Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 89
2. S. R. Kohli, *Ranjit Singh* (trans. in Hindi), p. 154
3. U. C. Sarkar, *Epochs in Hindu Legal History*, p. 279
4. Ward, *The Hindus*, p. 349
5. N. K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 148
6. S. R. Kohli, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 218

people.”⁷ “The greatest merit lay, however, in its simplicity and in the absence of those legal intricacies and technicalities, which, if introduced among the Sikh peasantry, would beset the path of justice with unavoidable difficulties.”⁸

Agencies of Administration

The king : The Maharaja was the highest court of appeal. He held his darbar at his capital and heard various cases, both civil and military. Moreover, he also decided cases while on tour. The Maharaja though unlettered in the strict sense of the word possessed abundant common sense and his vast experience of men and matters enabled him to decide cases quickly. A brief history of some cases decided by him is as under :

“Mat Singh Naumi verbally submitted in the Darbar of Amritsar, that the country of the Noble Sarkar was being indifferently administered, and that great injustice prevailed, e.g., out of 1100 rupees which formed the contribution to Darbar Sahib on the occasion of Baisakhi, Phula Singh Akali, was claiming from the Akalies of Darbar Sahib rupees 1000 and one horse and was threatening to fight for his claim. The Noble Sarkar said that he would send for him and dismiss him.”⁹ Thus the Maharaja heard only one party and gave his decision. In another case Ranjit Singh decided similarly. “A letter from Nawab Sher Khan Afghan came through Sabit Khan Afghan, representing that for a long time two villages in the districts of Shergarh and Hujra had belonged to Ahmad Shah Pirzada as rent free estates, but since a little while ago they had been confiscated by the Noble Sarkar and requesting that for the sake of the sender of the letter the Noble Sarkar should regrant the said two villages to him (Pirzada). The Noble Sarkar gave 10 rupees to the messenger, and gave him a written authority indicating the release of those two villages and also a valuable quilt and a gold threaded saddle for Sabit Khan Afghan.”¹⁰ Cases in which money was involved also came to the Maharaja. It is quite true that the amount was not great. “Fateh Khan took Rs.

7. Malcom, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 155

8. G. L. Chopra, *Events in the Court of Ranjit Singh, 1810-1817*, P.38

9. *Ibid.*, p. 28

10. *Ibid.*, p.38

6000 from Pyare, a resident of Sujapur. For several years the money was not paid. The case went to the Maharaja. He heard the case and the Shahukar, Pyare, agreed to receive Rs. 1500. The money was paid at once out of Lahore treasury. The king sent a letter to Tej Singh officer commanding army, to collect Rs 1500 from the jagir of Fateh Singh immediately so that he may not come to Lahore to seek request for the non-payment of the amount. In this way the treasury will be harmed."¹¹ This shows that the Maharaja sometimes did not like to listen to the other party for fear of reversing his decision. He believed in quick decisions and never bothered to go into the details of the intricate and complex process of the system of justice. There is another case of similar nature. "Karan had to pay Rs. 3000 to Sohan Ram. The king decided that Rs. 1600 should be paid."¹² Another case decided by the Maharaja is of the same kind. "Manak Chand, a representative, submitted a letter from Diwan Mokham Chand, in which it was written that the zamindars of Hoshiarpur were trying to approach the Noble Sarkar with some recommendations regarding their case, and the details of the case are as follows : I had gone to the expedition of Kashmir and Attock under the orders of the Noble Sarkar. In my absence the said zamindar did not pay a single penny to my son, Moti Ram, simply out of their bastardly character. Now I have asked them for the revenue tax for the past and the present. They have made a complaint to the Noble Sarkar. There is no fault of mine in this case. I am still prepared to do what the Noble Sarkar may order me to do. In reply to this the Noble Sarkar wrote to him after due consideration of this note that he must take from those zamindars whatever was due and should not claim from them any thing more."¹³

Adalat-ul-ala

Some references are available about the existence of this court at the capital of the empire. But the pity is that very scant knowledge has so far come to us about its composition and working. Even Sohan Lal Suri's book which deals in details with the daily happenings at Lahore has nothing to say about it. "A distinct court was set up at

11. S. R. Kohli *Ranjit Singh* (Hindi Trans.), p. 155

12. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

13. G. L. Chopra *op. cit.*, p. 99.

the capital known as Adalat-ul-Ala (exalted court). Its name, however, suggests that it was probably an appellate court, analogous to a high court of the present day." (Chopra p. cit. p. 89.) "There was a chief court at Lahore which was known as Adalat-ul-Aluia. But the records do not clearly indicate as to how the judges were actually appointed, what their qualifications were, which law they were to administer and to what extent their jurisdiction was."¹⁴ "There was a high court at Lahore. But there is no record to show as to how the judges of this court were appointed. What were their qualifications? What were the limitations and privileges of their rights and what kind of law did they administer?"¹⁵ The paucity of information about this court might be due to its limited scope. It may also be possible that in the absence of gradation of judicial system the people might have by-passed this court and directly approached the Maharaja, who was the final authority in these matters. The people knew that the Maharaja was very quick in taking the decisions of cases and therefore there was no need to approach the high court for this purpose.

Other Officials

The Maharaja had also appointed certain officers in cities and towns for administering justice. The duties were performed by Kardars and Nazims. "In the Sikh states, the administration of justice is vested in the Sardar or chief."¹⁶ Hence forward justice rests with the Nazim of the province, who represents the crown; and in his absence, with the local kardar of the valley. Mullicks have no authority, except to carry out the Nazim's or the Kardar's orders, and to collect the revenue of their respective tuppehs. Any Bunnochee or Vizeeree, therefore, who has a suit or complaint to refer, must go to the Nazim or Kardar and put in a written representation of his case."¹⁷ The qazies and the qanongos also figure in the judicial system of the Maharaja." The qazies and the qanongos exercised privately and indirectly those functions which had descended to them since the imperial times. The former continued to perform marriage ceremonies,

14. U. C. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 279

15. S. R. Kohli, *op. cit.*, p. 154

16. Princep, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 195

17. Harward & Edwards, *Depts Misc. No. 152*, p.21

to register testaments and attest deeds, the latter to declare recorded facts and expound local customs."¹⁸

The panchayat

The origin of the panchayat can be easily traced from the ancient past. It had played a significant part in the life of the village. The court revolutions and change of dynasties did not affect the panchayat. During the time of Ranjit Singh, these panchayats performed judicial functions. "There were panchayats in the villages and towns. Civil and criminal cases came before them. The panchayats did not follow any written system of law."¹⁹ Chopra²⁰ and Sarkar²¹ also maintain the same view. The panchayats generally dealt with the land disputes. But many times wrong claims were advanced by the parties with the idea that they will get something. The boundary disputes were the bone of contention between the parties and some times they took a violent turn. Princep gives the following information about the working of panchayat during the time of Maharaja :

"Five different modes of accomodation were in general adoption amongst the panchayats, 1. An equal division of land in dispute; 2. The panchayat selected the oldest and most respected member of their committee to fix the boundary, and parties consenting to abide by his award; 3. A moiety of the line of demarcation was drawn by the arbiters of one party, and the remaining portion by those of the other; 4. The panchayat referred the final adjustment to an old inhabitant of a neighbouring village, upon whose local knowledge and experience they placed more reliance than on their own limited information; 5. It sometimes occured to the panchayat to leave the division on the hand of one of the disputants, whose probity and reputation were established in the vicinity.

Village boundary disputes between the chiefs and cultivators of the contiguous and rival states are of daily occurrence, and the right and title to the smallest strip of land is contested with the obstinacy quite disproportionate to its intrinsic value. Little attention is paid by the chief or his subjects to the justice or reasonableness of the case. It is quite sufficient, according to the Sikh nation, that a claim be

18. S. R. Kohli, *op. cit.*, p. 154

advanced and presented, as something may be obtained, and be lost by the reference to the panchayat, which will use its endeavours to please, harmonise its decision to all the wants and wishes of those by whom it has been selected

Bloodshed between the zamindars in a boundary dispute is something atoned for by giving a nata, a daughter in marriage to a relative of the deceased, or commuted to the payment of 150 or 200 rupees, or 125 bighas of land. In general, however, revenge is sought, and the khoon-baha, or the price of blood, is deemed insufficient satisfaction particularly when a mother has to lament the loss of a favourite child, or a wife with a family, the bereavement of the husband."¹⁹

Nature of Cases

Disputes about land, engagement, private property, money, theft, murder, marriage, etc., have been mentioned by various authors. Litigation also arose in respect of village boundaries and this led to considerable violence. "The cultivators originated the cause of dispute and the effect was in most cases an appeal to arms, and effusion of blood, before the claims of parties could be heard, and decided by a convention of neighbouring zamindars, selected to draw a line of demarcation and bound by a solemn oath to act impartially. The oath administered to a person who erects the boundary pillar, if a Hindu, is the Ganga Jal, or the chour, or the raw hide of a cow, or swearing by his own son; if a Musalman, the Qoran, or placing his hand on his son's head. The chour and the swearing by his own child are the most binding. The litigant made choice of an equal number of munsifs or arbitrators, in some cases one each, in others two or three each. These committees would prolong the sittings for weeks and months, being all the while fed and paid by the parties, caressed and threatened by their chiefs, their relations and friends, influenced by party spirit, governed by fear and little verifying the saying common amongst them of 'Panch men Parmesvar.'²⁰ Marriages were broken on very flimsy ground. "In some instances, real or imaginary, disease, or bodily defects, will be alleged by one of the contracting

19. *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, pp. 202-203

20. Princep, *op. cit.*, p. 201

parties, as a reason why the bargain should not be annuled; in others, a flaw in the caste, or in many a discovery that the girl had been promised to two, three, or four different families, from all of which the needy parents or guardians have received money, ornaments or clothes. If both parties be subject of one chief, they appear before him, and either he or his officer satisfies them, or refers the case to a panchayat of the same class as the disputants. If the complainant or the defendant happens to reside in separate jurisdictions, and either of the chiefs perseveres in evading the compliance, or reject the award of a panchayat, Gaha, or self-indemnification is adopted by the opposite party, and the subjects, property and cattle of his neighbour are picked up and detained until satisfaction is offered and procured. The other side issues its letters of marque, and this pernicious system is frequently carried to the commission of serious outrage, and to the infractions of public tranquility.

It is not a rare occurrence for a parent or guardian to be convicted of marrying a girl to one man, after her betrothment to another. The chief, or a panchayat, in general, in such cases gives a verdict that the plaintiff is entitled a female from the family, if there be none, the parent or guardian must find a substitute; or, as a dearnier expedient find a spouse else where."²¹ Herbart B. Edwards,²² refers to a land case. "There was a dispute about land between Sher Must and Swahn Khan. Sher Must (who had to repay it) said that three hundred and twenty rupees; but Swahn Khan (who had to receive) said six hundred and twenty; The case was decided in a very strange way. The umpires got two pieces of papers and wrote on one six hundred and twenty; and on the other three hundred and twenty and put them in a cap and Sher Must must pay which ever he draws out. Both agreed and the case was settled. Neither of the parties would have presumed to say a word against a decision thus pronounced, whatever they might have thought of one delivered by the supreme council of India."

The tracking method was generally employed by the officers to

21. *Ibid.*, p. 206-7

22. *A Year on the Punjab Frontier*, pp. 218-19

23. Princep, *op. cit.*, p. 197

find out murder robbery or theft. "In all cases of stolen cattle, it is an established rule when the soorag-khoj, or trace of the footsteps is carried to the gate, or into the fields of any village, the zamindars of that village must either show the track beyond their own boundary, or allow the village to be searched, or pay the value of the cattle."²³ "The system of tracking and village responsibility, was in general use in the Punjab."²⁴ S.R. Kohli²⁵ has also said the same thing.

Punishments : Due to the absence of any criminal code, there was no uniform pattern of punishments. In many cases, before determining the guilt, ordeal method was employed. "In some cases an accused person will call for the Dibb, or ordeal of innocence, plunge his fingers in boiling oil, bear a heated plough share on his hand for 50 or 100 yards, challenge his accuser to the trial by water, and if he escapes unhurt his purity is acknowledged, and freely acknowledged."²⁶ "Jaswant Singh established his innocence by putting his fingers in the boiling oil of a kettle."²⁷ This method can be traced to the ancient period. "For lesser offences, four ordeals were employed for determining the guilt or innocence of a person. These are, says Yuan Chwang, by water, by fire, by weighing and by poison. In the water ordeal the accused is put in one sack and a stone in another, then the two sacks are connected and thrown into a stream; if the sack containing the stone floats, and the other sinks, the man's guilt is proven. The fire ordeal requires the accused to kneel and tread on hot iron, to take it in his hand and lick it; if he is innocent, he is not hurt, but he is burnt if he is guilty. In the weighing ordeal the accused is weighed against a stone; and if the latter is lighter the charge is false, if otherwise, it is true. The poison ordeal requires that the right hind leg of a ram be cut off, and to the portion assigned to the accused to eat, poisons are put into the leg, and if the man is innocent he survives

24. Herbart B. Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 169

25. *Ranjit Singh*, p. 134

26. Princep, *op. cit.*, p. 192

27. S. R. Kohli, *op. cit.*, p. 154

and if not the poison takes effect."²⁸ In the case of Jaswant Singh, mentioned above, he was not only pardoned but also promoted to the higher rank of a nayak in the army."²⁹

Different punishments were given for different crimes. But the most common form of punishment during the time of Ranjit Singh was fine, which was collected in a variety of ways." When a decree was given, the rule was that 25% of the decreed amount used to be taken from the decree holder for the government expenses. Even in theft cases, where the property was recovered, the government used to take its share in the shape of presents. When there was no prima facie case for defence in a civil suit, the defendant suffered a fine for wasting the time of the court by carrying a vexed litigation."³⁰ Chopra calls it a nazrana, shookarana and jurmana method. Early in A.D. 1841 the men belonging to the battalion of Captain Ford committed a riot in the cantonment of Peshawar. For this offence each sepoy was fined two month's pay, the Furrier, Naik and Havaldar lost two months and a half, the Jamadar and the Subedar three months each, while the regimental officers were punished with degradation to the immediate lower rank.³¹ The department of justice was the means of revenue for the state. "He who could pay was able to purchase justice. for whoever has the means to pay, or can procure a respectable security to pay for him within a given time, may expiate the most heinous transgressions."³² "The wealthy can secure justice ... The larger the bribe the more chances of success."³³ "Money, fear and favour can determine a village boundary dispute, and screen a criminal from detection and the infliction of punishment."³⁴

Cutting away certain parts of the body was a common form of punishment. "Again on another page he mentions the case of a Nihang (Akali) who wanted to force into the Maharaja's camp and

28. Quoted from R. N. Salletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, pp. 281-82

29. S. R. Kohli, *op. cit.*, p. 156

30. U. C. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 281

31. S. R. Kohli, *The Army of Ranjit Singh (Journal of Indian History, 1926)*, p. 33

32. Princep, *op. cit.*, p. 190

33. *Ibid.*, p. 195

34. *Ibid.*, p. 192

being stopped by the sentinal on duty had struck him with sword and cut off his arm. In the opinion of Doctor Honiberger such an officer deserved gallows, but the culprit was punished by the Maharaja with the loss of his ear, nose or hands, with the same sabre with which he had so skilfully cut off the arm of the soldier on royal duty."³⁵ "During the rebellion of soldiers in 1843, the ear of sepoy Karan Singh was cut off."³⁶ "The most incorrigible culprits are punished with the loss of either one or both hands, and deprivation of nose or ear."³⁷

Capital punishment was very rare and the Maharaja was quite reluctant to recommened this punishment. "The Maharaja is always unwilling to inflict the punishment of death or mutilation, but he knows not how to reconcile mildness with just reward due to crime. While Avitabile was at Wazirabad not long ago, six robbers were taken, professors of Sikh religion, to whom Ranjit Singh himself was bound to show forbearance. It was an embarrassing circumstance, this being the second apprehension of the thieves. They were sent to Avitabile with a command that they should not be allowed to escape again, and the same hour they were hanged. The Maharaja sent for Avitabile in high wrath; all his friends tremble for him, and when he appeared before Ranjit Singh, he was asked how he had decreed to hang six Sikhs, who had been given into his safe keeping."³⁸ S. R. Kohli, in the *Journal of Indian Hostory*, 1926, p. 32, has given the following punishments : (1) Dalel or extra duty; (2) Fine (3) Reduction in pay or rank (4) Imprisonment (5) Kathmarna (6) Mutilation of limbs or organs (7) Fancy punishment, such as, blackening the face of the culprit and parading him round the town, stamping or branding the forehead and exile from the native town.

From the above, it can be safely concluded that the judicial administration of Ranjit Singh was based on the customary and traditional law. The persons who were called upon to administer justice had no grounding in the theory of law. Whim and caprice played a

35. S. R. Kohli, *The Army of Ranjit Singh*, p. 32

36. *Ibid.*, p. 32

37. Princep. *op. cit.*, 196

38. Baron C. Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab*, p. 317

great part in giving justice to the individuals. But it well suited the temper of the people of those times. The justice was quite quick and not delayed, as we find nowadays. Whatever its shortcomings, it worked well under the Maharaja.

General Ventura*

PT. SHEO NARAIN

Early Life

Of the early life of the subject of this paper very little is known except what is stated by Dr. Wolff and by the biographer of Avitabile in the *Calcutta Review* or by Major Pearce in the appendix to his *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*. "It is usually stated on the authority of Henry Princep," says Major Pearce, "that Ventura, an Italian by birth, had held the rank of colonel of infantry in the army of the Napoleonic empire, and there is no reason to doubt the fact. There is unfortunately no record in the French War Office of the service of individual members of the Italian contingent of the army of the First empire, nor can information on the subject be obtained from the War office of the present Italian army."

We have therefore to fall back upon the accounts given by Dr. Wolff and by the biographer of Avitabile. The former in his *Travels and Adventures* (Vol. I. p 358) says : When Fateh Ulla Shah, king of Persia, became old, stricken in years and practically unable to reign any longer, he assembled all his sons together and commanded them to bow down before Abbas Mirza, their elder brother, and acknowledge him as the rightful successor to the throne. They all bowed before Abbas Mirza except one of the younger brothers Mohammad Ali Mirza, prince governor of Karmanjah, who sternly said to His Majesty, "As long as you my royal father are alive (here bowing his head) I shall obey; but as soon as your eyes are closed (here pointing to his sword) this sword must decide who shall be king." Mohammad Ali Mirza withdrew to his government in Karmajah and had his soldiers drilled under Messieurs Devaux, Court, Avitabile and Ventura. Abbas Mirza also retired to the

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seat of his government Tazrez, the capital of Aderbizan, and he had his soldiers drilled by English officers who were sent to him by the East India Company, such as Major Hart, and Montieth, and giant-like Sir Henry Bethune. "The above is probably the basis of the account given by the biographer of Avitabile who says: "Before his arrival in the Panjab in March 1822, Ventura was in the employ of the Persian king Fatteh Ali Shah, whose younger son Mohammad Ali Mirza utilized his services to drill his armies in Karmanjah. Persia had become a congenial hunting ground for European adventurers. Gardanne, Napoleon's ambassador at Tehran, had been specially commissioned to introduce French and Italian officers into the Persian army; though the dream of empire in India was rudely shattered by Waterloo, the current of military immigration once began never ceased to flow eastward. After the second restoration an increasing number of military waifs from war-exhausted Europe found their way to Asia, and Ventura was one of them. At the Persian Court two opposing influences were at work, and although the East India Co. could successfully insist on the Shah importing British officers in his service there was room for the ubiquitous foreigner in the armies of rival heirs to the throne. Of such foreigners Avitabile, in particular, had won his way into prominence: he was a friend of Ventura whose accounts of favourable opportunities for service in the army of Ranjit Singh made Avitabile come to the Panjab. Allard and Ventura underwent hair-breadth escapes and untold distresses on the way from Persia and Afghanistan on their way to the Panjab, and were reduced to officiating as callers to prayers in the mosque of Peshawar and Lahore. Nor did their arrival at Lahore end their troubles. Ranjit Singh took an unconscionable time to assure himself that the vagabond Franks were what they declared themselves to be and not secret emissaries of the British Government. Eventually his fears were allayed and he enlisted the two adventurers in the service, who converted his feudal levies into a modern army." pp. 527-530.

What was General Ventura by birth? Was he an Italian? According to Dr. Wolff he was a Jew. The biographer of Avitabile

is of the same opinion, based probably on the appearance of Ventura's features in a painting by an Indian artist in Ranjit Singh's Court. The painting, he says, could be seen at Peshawar not many years ago. The biographer mentions the General's father's name as Rabbi-Bin-Toora of Modena. Mr. Buckland in his *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, page 435, doubts whether the General was a Jew. He gives his real name as Reuben-Bib-Toora. A friend of mine has lent me a miniature of the General of ivory of which a photograph accompanies the present paper.¹ The type of face presents the features of a west-oriental, *i e.*, native of a country between the East Mediterranean and Afghanistan, but the face cannot be definitely pronounced to be that of a Jew though the long blue eyes, the aquiline broad nose with a slight pinch of nostril and the full though compressed lips lend some colour to a hypothesis of Jewish or at any rate mixed Jewish blood. I read in Keene's *Hindustan under Free Lances*, p, 193, that in the church and palace at Sardhana built by the Begam Sombre a few years before her death in 1836, there was a half-length portrait of General Ventura among many others which were removed to the Government House, Allahabad. I wrote, enclosing a copy of photograph of the miniature on ivory to the Private Secretary to H.H. the Lieut.—Governor of the United Provinces. The reply was that there was no portrait, answering to the likeness I had enclosed, at the Government-House. There is, however, a quarter size portrait of the General in the Lahore Museum which certainly resembles the miniature with me. On comparison the only difference noticeable is that in the portrait in the Lahore Museum the nose is somewhat less aquiline. These portraits cannot be said to prove he was a Jew. It was in March 1822 that General Ventura came to Lahore, according to Latif, dressed like a Musalman of Persia, in quest of employment. He explained his object in Persian to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This did not satisfy the Sikh Ruler: he asked him to explain it in his own language, and this having been done, he sent the paper written by him in French to the British agent at Ludhiana to be translated into the vernacular. All his suspicions being allayed on seeing the translation, he employed him to organize

*It was indeed this ivory miniature which originally suggested the present paper.

his army on the French system. During the early years of his service in the Panjab General Ventura had lived with General Allard in a large mosque near the Lahore Cantonment. It is related that when Ventura was absent in France for two years (1838-1840) his family, together with forty or fifty female slaves, lived during the whole period in this mosque without once moving out of doors. The tomb of Anarkali was afterwards given to him for a residence. This had been previously occupied by Prince Kharak Singh. It is thus described by the biographer of Avitabile :

“A vast domed tomb, which the Emperor Jehangir had reared to Akbar’s favourite slave girl Anarkali, was converted into a residence by Ventura and Allard. In the ground of this mausoleum Ventura built himself a superb habitation. On the walls of the entrance hall between the noble range of pillars was painted the reception of the two Generals at the court of Lahore introducing more than a thousand figures. The room adjoining was lined from top to bottom with gilded mirrors like the *Galerie des Glaces* at Versailles, producing when illuminated a most dazzling effect.” *Avitabile’s Life*, p 574. The General’s residence is now our Civil Secretariat Office. The above account is fully corroborated by at least two travellers, Baron Huegel and Mr. Masson, who saw the General’s residence with their own eyes. The building has undergone some changes since but the identity is beyond doubt.

“General Ventura’s house, built by himself and General Allard, though of no great size, combines the splendour of the East with the comforts of a European residence. On the walls of the entrance hall, before the range of pillars on the first storey was portrayed the reception of the two French officers at the court of Ranjit Singh, consisting of many thousand figures. The second room is adorned with a profusion of small mirrors in gilt frames, which have an excellent effect; the third is a large hall, extending the entire width of the house, and terminating in the sleeping apartments. At a short distance behind the house stands an ancient tomb, crowned with a lofty dome. This is now tenanted by the families of the European officers. Standing in the midst of the garden, which has been laid out with great taste, it forms a very striking contrast to the surround-

ing sandy plain. This spot overlooks an arm of the Ravi and eastward the old city and necropolis, with countless dilapidated buildings and tombs, which in parts form small hillocks without any apparent vestige of regular edifices. The neighbourhood of Lahore abounds in saltpetre, which soon destroys any walls that may be left standing, and not only these, but covered buildings crumble beneath its influence, and frequently become an unshapely mass of rubbish. Among these ruins, a square has been cleared for the troops to exercise in front of General Ventura's house and the bricks which have been dug out from them have been used not only to erect his dwelling house but the barracks for the French legion. These are now unoccupied, as the legion is at Peshawar."—Baron Hugel's *Travels*, p. 283.

Speaking of Anarkali's tomb, Mr. Masson says:

"There were formerly extensive gardens, and several buildings connected with the tomb, but not a vestige can now be traced of them. This monument was once occupied by Karak Singh, the eldest son of the Maharaja, but has subsequently been given to an Italian officer, M. Ventura, who has converted it into a haram. Adjacent is the handsome house of M. Allard, and in front of it, a parade ground intervening, are the lines of the regiments and battalions under their orders. To the east of the city are the cantonments of the troops, commanded by M. Avitabile, and Court, with the residences of those officers. The mansion of the former, a Neapolitan, is painted in a singular and grotesque fashion."—Masson's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 413.

The handsome house of Allard referred to can be unmistakably identified with the Kuri bagh, so named owing to a tomb in it which still exists of Allard's daughter Marie Chaltte who died there in 1827. Kuri bagh is now the property of H.H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

In the year 1825, the General was married to a European lady then residing at Ludhiana. Her father was a Frenchman and her mother an Armenian. The nuptials took place at Lahore in Anarkali. The priest who performed the ceremony was invited from Ludhiana to Lahore, and in honour of the event a ceremonial took place at Lahore in which the bridegroom received, by way of present, 10,000 rupees from the Maharaja and 30,000 rupees from the courtiers.

Madame Ventura bore her husband a daughter. A Jagir of 7,000 rupees a year was granted by the Maharaja in her name in 1834 in Ilaqa Talwandi Rajputan. Towards the end of the year 1852, or in the beginning of the year 1853, the Court of Directors of the East India Company purchased the said Jagir for 24,000 pounds and a grant of a life pension of 300 pounds a year to the General. A deed of release was obtained from the General and his daughters who were described in it respectively as Jean Baptists Counte Ventura de Mundy and Claudine Victorine Ventura. "*de Mundy*" had reference to the Mandi State where the fortress of Kamlagarh was successfully carried by the General in 1840 in spite of the popular belief in its impregnability. After the death of the General his widow applied to the British Government to continue for her benefit the pension enjoyed by her husband. So long as the General was in possession of the Jagir and its income was collected by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, Madam Ventura was allowed Rs. 250 a month out of the realizations. This allowance had ceased in September 1850. It seems that the General had also some interest in the Toolsea indigo factory near Bhagalpur, from which his wife received an annuity for eight years from February 1856 to February 1864. After the termination of her allowance from the Jagir and the annuity of the factory, Madame Ventura lived mostly on the sale of her jewellery. She petitioned the British Government for a compassionate allowance, and after some enquiry a pension of 30 rupees a month was sanctioned. The daughter of the General was married to the Marquis De Trazegnie Destre. Thus the handsome amount secured by commutation of his Jagir and a large fortune which the General must have carried with him to Paris, enabled him to live in good style in Paris and to marry his daughter to a Marquis; but it does not reflect credit on a man of Ventura's high position and honourable profession that he should have left his spouse in India in abject poverty and destitution. Madam Ventura died at Ludhiana on 10th July, 1873, aged 70, and was buried in the cemetery in that town. An epitaph still exists on her tomb there. After her death one Gulhojan *alias* Anna Maria Farmer (Miss Michael), daughter of one Mariamjan, niece of Madam Ventura and dependant on her, applied to the British Government for the continuance of the pension enjoyed by Madame Ventura. This lady had

married Captain Farmer of the 66th Regiment Native Infantry, on the 23rd May, 1842. Being left a widow and being dependent on the General's widow she was given a pension of Rs. 15 a month on the 16th March, 1877, she and her sister and mother having left Ludhiana for Agra in 1875. Among Madame Ventura's relations, Mr. R. W. Dubigon has also to be mentioned. He is described in the life of Avitabile as an estimable young man in the service of Begam Sombre (Samru). Ventura picked him up during a tour in India which he had undertaken for the benefit of his health, treated him with kindness, found him employment in one of the infantry regiments of Ranjit Singh, and eventually married him to his sister-in-law. In a letter to Sir John Lawrence, dated 30th March, 1858, from Ludhiana, this gentleman mentions the loss of property suffered by his sister-in-law Madame Ventura and by Mr. T. Joseph, her nephew, when the mutineers passed through Ludhiana. He too had gone away to Agra in 1875 taking with him Mrs. Farmer, her sister and mother. Dr Wherry of Ludhiana, in response to my queries, informs me that Madame Ventura was an Armenian Christian; she was a beautiful and attractive lady in old age, and when General Ventura returned to France he took her only daughter with him. Although his Armenian wife had become a Roman Catholic, he cast her off and took to himself another wife leaving his Armenian wife absolutely destitute, who but for the kindness of the British Government, who gave her a small pension, would have suffered direst poverty. Becoming almost blind she was advised by an English Surgeon to wait until she became totally blind when a cataract operation could be performed, but she was impatient and allowed a native *Ank-Bananewala*, to perform the operation. After four days she was in a state of convulsion and the Civil Surgeon pronounced her case hopeless. Her niece requested Dr. Wherry to pray to the Lord. It was done as desired, and the next morning the joyous news was received that the Madame was convalescent. She ascribed her recovery solely to the prayer. This incident, says Dr. Wherry, illustrates the piety of this lady.

Ventura as a Soldier

General Ventura had not long to wait before an opportunity offered itself to him to show the Maharaja and the Sikh army the merit of

his system of discipline, and also to illustrate his skill as a tactician. In March 1823, only a year after Ventura's arrival at Lahore, the Sikh army was engaged against the Afghans in the battle of Nowshera or Theri. The Afghans were in great strength, their regular troops holding a position on the right bank of Kabul river, while 20,000 mountaineers of the Khatak and Yusufzai tribes occupied a strong position on the left bank.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh now showed his confidence in General Ventura and Allard by sending them with a small force of eight battalions and two batteries to keep the regular Afghan troops in check, while he with his main strength fell upon the Ghazis. The battle was severely contested, but, thanks to the superior generalship of Ranjit Singh, resulted in a complete victory for the Sikhs. The loss of the victors was estimated by Captian (afterwards Sir Claude) Wade at 2,000 men out of a total force present of 24,000.

The Afghan tribesmen had more than 3,000 killed, but gallantly rallied on the day following the battle and were ready to renew the fight. Muhammad Azim Khan, however, who commanded the Afghan regular troops, fearing lest his treasure and haram might fall into the hands of the Sikhs, broke up his camp, and crossing the Momand hills with undignified haste, regained the valley of Jalalabad. He was pursued for a considerable distance by Ventura and Allard, whose force had been increased by a contingent under Prince Sher Singh, one of the Maharaja's sons, a brave soldier.

In consequence of this victory Ranjit Singh occupied the city of Peshawar and his troops plundered the whole district up to the Khaibar Pass.

In the year 1825, a campaign was directed against Kotlar, the chief command being entrusted to Jemadar Khushal Singh, a favourite officer of the Maharaja. In this campaign a number of Sikh Sardars or chiefs, and soldiers, refused to serve under Ventura and Allard, and threatened to resist their authority by force. The two generals complained to the Maharaja, who at once proceeded to the army, degraded the mutinous officers, and severely punished the ring-leaders of inferior rank.

GENERAL VENTURA

Later, General Ventura accompanied Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, one of the bravest and best educated of the Sikhs chieftains, in various small expeditions. A rising at Gandgarh was quelled after a smart action, the hill fortress of Srikot was captured, and finally Ventura took part in a demonstration under Prince Sher Singh, the object of which was to exact payment of the annual tribute from Yar Mohamad Khan, at that time ruler of Peshawar. The tribute was paid without fighting, and so ended a year of great military activity.

In the year 1831, that of Colonel Gardner's arrival in the Panjab, General Ventura shared with Shahzada Sher Singh the command of the force sent out from Peshawar against the reformer Syad Ahmad. As is related in Gardner's narrative, this force completely defeated Syad Ahmad's followers, and the prophet himself was slain at a place called Balakot. Gardner was just too late to take part in the action but it is probable that Ventura became aware that Gardner had intended to Dogra faction, caused the ill-will which is shown by Gardner's language to have existed between them. The French and Italian officers in Ranjit Singh's service held much aloof from those of other nationalities, and this also must have contributed to the unfriendliness.

Later in the year 1831, General Ventura was sent to Multan in command of a force of 10,000 troops and thirty pieces of artillery, or the purpose of collecting the tribute of that province.

In addition to the rank of general, conferred on Ventura soon after he entered the Sikh service, Ranjit Singh created him Qazi and governor of Lahore, which appointment gave him the third seat in durbar.

General Ventura was highly favoured by the Maharaja in consequence of his services on this and subsequent occasions, and was granted pay at the rate of 2,500 rupees a month. He was also at various times given large jagirs, or feudal grants of land, by his royal master, and towards the end of the Maharaja's life Ventura received two villages as a special gift for his young daughter Victorine.

General Ventura, a very amiable man, as Gardner describes him, was sent to subjugate and annex Sabzalkot and Rojah, both on the

right bank of the Indus below Mittankot (*Gardner's Memoir, p.183*).

"In 1819(?), Ranjit Singh extended his conquests beyond the Indus and annexed the southern portion of the present District of Dera Ghazikhan. Aasiq Mohammad Khan, Nawab of Bahawalpur, received the newly acquired territory as a fief on payment of an annual tribute to Lahore. In 1827, the Nawab overran the northern portion all of which passed under the suzerainty of the Sikhs. Three years later, however, he was compelled to give up his charge in favour of General Ventura. *Imp. Gaz., XI, p. 251.*

"Kamlagarh was an ancient fortress in the Mandi State, Panjab. The possession of the fortress tempted the Raja of Mandi to revolt against the Sikhs; but General Ventura succeeded in carrying it in 1840, in spite of the popular belief in its impregnability. *Imp. Gaz., XIV, p 328.*

"On the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839, the Sikh Government determined to complete the reduction of Mandi as a stepping-stone to the projected conquest of Chinese Tartary. In 1840, General Ventura occupied Mandi, and Kamlagarh capitulated after a siege of two months." *Imp. Gaz., XVII, p 154.*

"Until his death in 1839, Ranjit Singh was ever loyal to the engagements which he had entered into with Metcalfe in 1809, but he left no son capable of wielding his sceptre. Lahore was torn by dissensions between rival generals, ministers and queens. The only strong power was the Khalsa, or central council of the Sikh army, which since the British disaster in Afghanistan, burned to measure its strength with the British sepoy. Ranjit Singh's European generals Court and Ventura were foolishly ousted by the Sikh commanders and the supreme military command was vested in a series of Panchayats or elective committees." *Imp. Gaz., II p. 503.*

"Scarcely had Sher Singh ascended the throne when the soldiery got out of hand, excitement though without any ground whatever against European officers rose high, General Court stripped of everything narrowly escaped. General Ventura who upon the news of the outbreak had returned to Lahore had a similar escape." —*The Panjab*, by Steinbach, p. 30.

Some Other Incidents*Laili*

The story of the famous mare Laili can be briefly told. She was renowned for her beauty throughout Afghanistan and the Panjab, and Ranjit Singh, in 1826, demanded her surrender from her owner Sardar Yar Mohammad Khan, governor of Peshawar, who refused. Straightway Sirdar Budh Singh Sindhanwalia was sent to take possession of the mare. When he reached Peshawar he was informed that Laili had died. On his return to Lahore it was ascertained that this story was false, and that another force under the nominal command of Prince Kharak Singh was despatched to Peshawar with orders to buy the mare or seize her, and if Yar Mohammad Khan would not part with her, to depose him from the governorship. The Prince marched to Peshawar, and Yar Mohammad, who considered that his honour was involved in not surrendering the mare, fled to the hills. Prince Kharak Singh after holding Peshawar for eight months, retired, leaving Sirdar Sultan Mohammad Khan as governor, but the Sikh army had not proceeded further than Attock when Yar Mohammad returned and drove out the new governor. General Ventura who had been left in command of the Sikh army at Attock was now directed by the Maharaja to try his hand at the business of the acquisition of the horse, for which he was to offer any price which would be accepted, but, if refused, was to renew hostilities. While Yar Mohammad was hesitating as to his reply Khalifa Syed Ahmad again descended from the hills and ravaged the villages north of Peshawar, and the governor, who attempted to drive him back, was killed in the fight which ensued. Laili, however, had not been surrendered, and General Ventura, after having defeated Syed Ahmad, encamped before Peshawar and demanded the animal from Sultan Mohammad Khan, whom he promised to confirm in the governorship if he gave her up. But Sultan Mohammad tried as many subterfuges as his brother, and it was not till Ventura had arrested him in his own palace and threatened to hold him a prisoner till Laili was given up, that persistence obtained its deserved success, and the General becoming the happy possessor of the coveted mare, took her to Lahore. She was

received with much rejoicing by the Maharaja.

Whether the real horse was given up is still doubtful, for there are few created beings that an Afghan cannot or could not deceive. Certainly, at Rupar in 1831, when the Maharaja visited the Governor-General, a brown horse was shown as Laili. When Huegel visited Lahore he especially begged to be allowed to see the famous horse, which the Maharaja told him cost him sixty lakhs of rupees and twelve thousand men. He describes Laili as magnificently caparisoned, with gold bangles round her legs, a dark grey, with black points, thirteen years old and fully sixteen hands high. This was the horse Ventura assured Hugel that he had obtained with so much difficulty at Peshawar : but, on the other hand, Sikh records always speak of Laili as having been a mare which the name would seem to confirm. So the sex of the true Laili must remain a historical puzzle. Certain it is, that no horse since that which caused the fall of Troy, has ever been the source of such trouble and the death of so many brave men (*Rulers of India Series : Ranjit Singh* by Griffin, p. 102).

Paddle-boat.

Ranjit Singh asked Ventura to make him a steamer. Despite his protests Ventura was made to undertake the construction of one for which he boldly asked 40,000 rupees. He went to Gardner and begged his aid; and Gardner after reading up all he could about paddle-boat building succeeded in turning out a wondrous sort of two decked barge with paddle-wheels to be worked by hand. The boat was launched on the Ravi, but with the utmost efforts of the exhausted wheel-turners would not go more than 10 yards or so upstream. Yet Ranjit Singh was quite satisfied with the fact of the boat moving up the stream slowly without sails or oars (Gardner's *Memoir*, p. 203).

"My return to my native country," says Dr. Honigberger, "was via Mooltan and Dera Ghazikhan, where General Ventura was then governor. As I had provided myself with vaccine matter to use for

my journey, the general wished me to vaccinate
Vaccination his darling child. Madame Ventura was opposed
to my commencing with her little daughter
Victoria, so her husband ordered some poor children to be brought
from the bazar at Dera, whom I vaccinated, and to each of them he

gave a rupee, as a remuneration. On the eighth day, on which the children ought to have come to me, that I might take the vaccine matter for further use, no one appeared, and I was told that their alarmed parents had removed them from the town. The parents had heard a rumour that on the eighth day, on their re-appearance, the Feringhee (European) doctor would cut the *moomiai* from their arm, which operation was supposed to endanger life : but on General Ventura's threatening the Kotwal (Police officer) with imprisonment, one of the boys was brought to me on the following morning from whom I got vaccine matter enough to enable me to vaccinate several other children, among whom was Miss Victoria, at the harem of the general."—*Thirty-five Years in the East*, p. 57

In another place in his book the same Doctor says :

"I remained only two years at Constantinople, from the autumn of 1836 to that of 1838. During that time, my homoeopathic practice was extensive, as there were only myself and the private physician to the Russian ambassador who practised the new system; and it was so lucrative that I had no idea of leaving that place so soon, still less of returning to Lahore, until I learned from the Austrian Internunico, Baron Sturmer, who was in quarantine at Malta, and who had met with General Ventura, that the Maharaja had ordered the General to make enquiries about me in Europe, and to persuade me to go back to Lahore. Accordingly, the General invited me to accompany him thither after the expiration of his leave of absence in the autumn. I yielded to this invitation, and went in company with the General from Alexandria to Bombay, where he proceeded alone, with the utmost speed to Lahore, as Ranjit Singh was dangerously ill, and as that time the English were preparing to place Shahshooja on the throne of Kabul.

"General Ventura was accompanied by a shawl merchant, named Monsieur Le Boeuf, and a Captain of cavalry, M. Mouton, with his lady. These three persons the General requested me to accompany to Lahore, as they were unable to speak Hindustanee.—Honigberger's *Thirty-five Years in the East*, p. 88.

The position which the General enjoyed can be judged from a painting by an Indian artist to be seen at Peshawar in which he is

shown among the courtiers of the Lion of the Panjab and is given the next place to Allard. It seems that soldiers of fortune who found employment under Indian rulers in other parts of the county must have had some sort of intercommunication. This is evident from the employment of the third son of George Thomas (the well-known adventurer in Begum Samru's service) as a Commandant in Ranjit Singh's service and the selection of Dubuignon also in the Begam's service for marriage with Ventura's sister-in-law.

I cannot say what foundation there was for the following statement in Avitabile's life :—

“When Avitabile tendered his resignation, at first (according to English newspapers) there was some talk of detaining Ventura as a hostage at Lahore for 27 lacks, he was reported to be taking out of the county, both generals were eventually allowed to retire from Sikh service without difficulty.” p. 556.

The General retired in 1843, thus serving his master and his successors for 21 years. He passed the remainder of his life at Paris where he lived in very good style, enjoying the distinction of chevalier of the Legion of Honour. He died near Toulouse, 3rd April, 1858. (Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 435.)

During his employment under the Sikh rulers, he did not shave nor ate beef as originally undertaken by him, but he smoked, a concession allowed to him. That he was a splendid military organizer is undoubted, that he was faithful to his master speaks volumes in his favour. In his private life perhaps he was not a model. Nevertheless we must view him making allowance for human frailties from which nobody is absolutely free. He was, says Major Pearse in a sketch of his life, a highminded and an honourable soldier much respected by the Sikhs and also by all the English officers with whom he was brought in contact. He was true to his salt, and justified his employment by an Indian ruler. Here is Hugel's testimony of the General's merits :—

“The General has been of great service to the Maharaja, both in the field and in the training of his forces, but is blamed for not being sufficiently pliant and refined for a court. None but minions

have any influence over Ranjit Singh, and it is to Ventura's honour that he is not one of these. Here and in India he is acknowledged to be a man of high honour, and during a journey he took not long since in Hindustan, the English generals and many officers testified their respects to him most cordially."—Baron Hugel's *Travels*, p. 317.

There is yet one incident in the General's life which is of general interest to an archaeologist and of particular interest to me. We read in Baron Hugel's *Travels*, p. 236, that it was Ventura who "first opened the Manikyala Tope which is situated some 10 kos from Rawal Pindi. After an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate it from the lower part, he ordered the workmen to repair at the upper part. In a short time they arrived at the middle of the shaft where they met large masses of stones: these were broken through, and near the foundation appeared a small vaulted recess containing a gold cylinder with some fluid in it and some Buddhist coins. Prinsep afterwards wrote a full description of this ancient Monument."

The Martial Races of India

MAJOR G. F. MACMUNN

The composition of the Indian Army has for many years been the subject of most careful consideration. From the days when the original "cheap Charlies" and night watchmen of the merchant's settlements first grew into companies and battalions, and gradually swelled into vast armies, there have been many and far-reaching changes in the areas and races from which recruits have been drawn. Through many and various causes which cannot be dwelt on here, by the middle of the last century almost the whole of the vast army of Bengal, part of that of Bombay, and most of the various contingents paid for by the native States, were drawn from one great class, the Poobeahs or men of the East, that is to say, that Hindus and Muhammadans of Oude and Behar.

The men of various races, tribes, and creeds stood cheek by jowl in the ranks, with little to encourage race pride and emulation, but with every opportunity to lose such natural distinctions and feelings. It was not surprising, therefore, that when the wave of discontent and unrest arose that culminated in the Mutiny, it should have spread like lightning through all the more northern portions of the Army, and even have embraced men who had little in common with one another.

After 1857, the reconstructed Army was formed on entirely different principles. Regiments and battalions were either 'class' corps, or had 'class' companies and squadrons. Each race, therefore, stood in the ranks distinct, and racial emulation was highly developed as well as any special martial proclivities that were innate in any particular race. Of late years, the demand for a larger army, the competition of the labour market, and the more serious class of foe that the Army might be expected to meet, have led to a great

development of the class enlistment system. Tribes and clans have been most carefully studied, and only those that yield the best men are drawn on, while those districts that yield the hardier man are carefully exploited. Tribe and sect and class and clan are so grouped as to get the best possible results, and these results during the last 10 or 15 years have been very remarkable.

In all races and nations, piping times of peace and years of freedom from wars tend to blunt the martial proclivities of the race, and this is especially so in India. As years have rolled on, the classes that a hundred years or so ago formed the bulk of the two old coast armies have been almost entirely eliminated. The Tamil and Telegu of Madras, the Mahratta and Muhammadan of the Deccan, now supply but few contingents. Even martial Oude, which before 1857 formed the mass of the Army, is now drawn on but for a few corps only.

To understand this class grouping by sect and race and clan is difficult without a working knowledge of the race history of India, all the more so because the terms applied to the different peoples are in themselves illogical. We talk of them sometimes by race, sometimes by religion, and so often as not by the name of the country whence they come. For instance, a Punjabi is a man of the Punjab and may be a Sikh, a Muhammadan, or even a Dogra. A Dogra is a man who comes from the Dogra country, yet we apply it often only to a Hindu from the Punjab slopes of the Himalayas. Hindu and Muhammadan are the distinctions of religion, and Mahratta and Pathan those of race.

It is all extremely confusing to grasp, and an attempt to explain it in outline only will be made here. Many centuries before the Christian era some tall, fair races, elbowed no doubt by increasing population, migrated from that crucible of the human race, the Central Asian Plateau, through the mountains of Afghanistan into the Punjab and Hindustan. They gradually subjugated the races whom they found living there, though this was the work of many centuries. The Aryans were the invaders, and those races already in the land are now broadly known as the Dravidian races. These Aryan invaders, whose religion was what gradually developed into

Hinduism, consisted roughly of soldiers, priests, and traders. As their society developed, the soldiers called themselves Rajputs, the sons of kings, founded dynasties, and followed their leaders. Eventually there developed 36 royal clans, while the Brahmins or Levitical class, while keeping the priestly functions in their hands, spread over the land as landowners and cultivators also. Gradually the Dravidian races, with their idol and snake worship, were admitted into the lower grade of Hinduism, and the whole of Hindustan became a Hindu land ruled over by Aryan rulers who were mostly from the Rajput clans. With the exception of the Tamil and Telegu races in Madras and certain out-of-the-way corners, the whole of India was practically Hindu of Aryan race.

After many generations came the Muhammadans invasions from the north—Ghizai, Afghan, and Mogul. With them came also Persians and Arabs. Thousands of Afghans settled in India. Rohilkund, the country of the Rohillas, or men of the hills, was largely colonized. Millions of Hindus, not only of the lower castes of semi-Dravidian stock, but also very many portions of Rajput clans, were forcibly converted, or even eagerly accepted Islam. From that day many of the indigenous inhabitants of India became divided, bifurcating also in their habits and rules of life. The people were henceforth Muhammadan and Hindu, though of course the spread of Islam continued over many centuries. The foreign settlers, Mogul and Afghan; gradually mingled with the converted races, so that there is little distinction between those claiming foreign descent and those claiming converted origin. Mainly, especially those of the lower classes of the converts, tried and still try to claim Mogul, Afghan, or Sheikh origin. The Sheikhs are Arabs of the tribe of Muhammad. On the other hand, many of the older tribes, such as the Rajputs, know themselves by their race and not by their religion. Thus a Punjabi, who is a Muhammadan of one of the fighting classes, will describe himself as a Rajput, and his clan distinction is quite as clear as among the Hindu Rajput clans of Rajputana; while his clan, which occupies some valley perhaps in the Salt Range, will be the same as one of the 36 royal clans of Rajputana. It is as much as if some Protestant families of Highland name, settled for generations in

England, bore a name similar and evidently of the same stock as some Catholic family in the Highlands.

Bearing in mind, therefore, that the people of India, whatever their religion and province, are often of one race, and that the old invaders and adventurers of the north are so commingled with their converts as to be very little different ethnologically, we can touch on the various classes enlisted, without forgetting the connection that they have with India as a whole. It will thus also be easy to differentiate between the native and the foreigner whom we enlist. Scattered throughout a large portion of Upper India, however, are two more races whose entry into India, though far later than the Aryan descent, is still of great antiquity, who long since entered the Hindu hierarchy, and whose leaders were in some cases admitted to Rajput status. The far more recent conversion to Islam affected many of their sections in common with the rest of India. These are the Jats, said to be the ancient Scythian Getae, and Gujars, said to be the Yuchi from Central Asia. Both these races, but especially the former, are much connected with the military classes of to-day, and will be alluded to frequently in this paper.

As so many of the classes now enlisted come from the North, it will be convenient to begin with the northern races.

The Sikhs

Foremost among the classes that give us soldiery are the Sikhs, who are foremost also in their record of gallant and faithful service in all climes. The Sikhs are not a race, but a religious body, confined, however, to the races of the Punjab. Sikhism was a calvinistic reformed Hindu faith, borrowing largely from the pure monotheism of Islam, designed to reform the world and to relieve Hinduism from the idolatry of its popular forms. It was essentially Socialistic, preaching equality of all men, and to it flocked the humble and lowly and the oppressed. Baba Nanak, its founder, the spiritual teacher of the new faith, was born near Lahore in 1469. This new religion had much in it that reminds one of the rise of Christianity. Despised and persecuted, it was the persecution that stirred mankind and gave it strength. It became the centre of opposition to Islam and was persecuted by

the Mogul accordingly. Fresh recruits poured into it, and it grew in strength and influence, as a spiritual psychological movement stirring all men.

It was not, however, till the days of Govind [Singh], the tenth Guru, that the covenanting peaceful sects were blended into a great military body, which was to become a nation. Under Guru Govind [Singh], the powerful, well-built Punjabi became a famous soldier, and assumed at the bidding of his leader the affix of Singh or Lion. Driving Islam before them, they became that great military fraternity which the Maharajah Runjeet Singh succeeded, for his long reign only, in blending into one kingdom. After their invasion of India in 1845, the subsequent desperate battles with the British, the attempt to throw off the British connection in 1848, and the final destruction and surrender of the Sikh Army in 1849, they enlisted freely in the Indian Army, and, as is well known, formed a large portion of the Punjab troops that helped us to quell the Mutiny.

Many tribes and races of the Punjab embraced Sikhism, but most of all a large portion of that great Jat race which has already been referred to. A race of sturdy, powerful yeomen peasants, they are an ideal material for a soldiery. Many other classes of Sikhs have of recent years been enlisted, chiefly those of certain trades who have taken to agriculture, such as Lobanas or pedlars, Saxinis and Kunbohs who are market gardeners, Torkhans who are carpenters, etc. The Khattris or merchant class also make good soldiers, and have far better brains than the agricultural Jat, though without his phlegmatic nature. It is an important factor to remember that no man is born a Sikh, and that he must be baptized to the faith. The baptismal ceremony, termed taking the Pehul, is usually performed on attaining, or just before attaining, manhood. A man who does not take the Pahul is automatically a Hindu, and where Sikhism and Sikh opinions are lax, the prospect of the unrestricted life of a Hindu instead of the simple austere rules of Sikhism appeals to the young idea. In fact, for some time the better class of Sikhism has been kept alive in the British regiments of set design, because a good Sikh is a much better man than an ordinary Hindu. Sikhism, however, when all is said and done, is a form of Hinduism, and its people are of the land. It has lately

undergone considerable revival, and we have behind us the immense force it once gained as a racial Hindu movement. The ordinary Hindus of India, especially the Mahrattas, in the days of the British wars with the latter, have continually appealed to the Sikhs as brother Hindus, not however with particular success.

One particular class of Sikh is especially worthy of mention, viz., the Mazbi, who originally of sweeper class, have now become an agricultural one. Their name Mazbi, or faithful, was given them by the Sikh community for rescuing the body of Teg Bahadur, the second Guru before Guru Govind, who was crucified by the Moguls. Long famed as labourers, they were formed into a pioneer corps at the siege of Delhi, and are now enlisted in three of the Indian pioneer battalions. Including these, there are 10 Sikh battalions in the Indian Army, and many other battalions have two or more Sikh companies. The cavalry have many Sikh squadrons, and half of each of the mountain batteries are also drawn from them.

Among the many peculiarities of their faith, they neither smoke nor cut their hair. Their hair wound on their heads, and their long beards, which in the Army are curled up close to their faces, are the mark that may distinguish them to the casual observer. The curled beard, however, is equally affected by Rajputs, and the Sikh learned it from the old Bengal sepoy.

The Punjabi Muhammadan

The next of the Punjab people after the Sikh is the good class of Muhammadan, generally spoken of collectively as Punjabi Muhammadans. Those who enlist are mostly from the Rajput tribes, the original occupants of the Punjab, who, along with the Jats, were converted to Islam. They dwell chiefly in the country round the Salt Range and in the broken country between the Chenab and the Indus, and some of the clans claim descent from immigrant tribes. Some clans serve almost entirely in the cavalry, but the bulk serve in any arm, and it is the wealthier man who sends his younger sons to the cavalry. They are smart, alert soldiers, who have stood plenty of hard knocks in the past, improve every day that they are at work, and are favourites with officers who serve with them. The clans are

numerous, while the same Jat race, which, in other parts, accepted Sikhism, in many parts had already accepted Islam. The Muhammadans of the Punjab who are of any military account are, therefore, for the most part Rajput or Jat by race. Chibs, Bhattis, Gukkhars, Tiwanas, Sattis, and Awans are among the best known of the clans enlisted. They are serving in the mountain batteries and in the class squadrons and companies of all corps that enlist Punjabis. Each corps as a rule specializes in certain clans, and has a family connection with certain districts.

The Dogra

Among the Punjabi soldiers, the Dogra has as great a reputation as any other, especially as a cavalry soldier. Before the Muhammadan invasions from the north, the Hindu peoples, stretching across the length and breadth of Hindustan, reached well into the lower slopes of the Himalayan buttress and for many hundred miles along it. In the Punjab, both the Muhammadan invasions and the Sikh movement left the dwellers in the hills untouched; the invasions, because it is ill taking the brecks off a Highlander, and Sikhism, because its Socialistic tendencies did not appeal to the Rajput and Brahmin of the hills, nor were they powerfully influenced by the religious call of Islam. The Dogras are, therefore, simply the old Rajput and Brahmin of India, untouched by later racial changes. The name really applies, however, to the whole of the Dogar Desh, and includes all the Hindu classes indigenous thereto, as well as a few of the tribes who were touched by Islam, such as those of the Chibs who live within the Dogra limits. Muhammadan and Hindu Chibs live close to each other, and absolutely count kin. The cold of the Punjab winter and the general climate of the hills have endowed the Dogra with the hardy habits and warlike ways of the rest of the Punjab. There are three Dogra battalions, while many squadrons and companies of Dogras are distributed throughout the Army. The ruling race in Kashmir are Dogras, and so are most of the Kashmir Army. Within the Punjab, too, among the dwellers in the plains, are certain other classes who, like the Dogras, have escaped Islam and Sikhism, and they are enlisted in much the same corps as the Dogra proper.

The Pathans

It has been explained that Pathans, the descendants or the puta-

tive descendants of the old Afghan invaders and soldiers of fortune, are scattered over large parts of India. They, however, are now spoken of among the Muhammadans of the district, as Hindustani Muhammadans, Deccanni Muhammadans, &c. The term Pathan nowadays is applied solely to the tribes of pure Pathan blood who live on or across our North—West Frontier of India. The Pathan element cannot altogether be called foreign, for a considerable number have lived within our administrative border line ever since the annexation of the Punjab brought our frontier to the foot of the Afghan hills.

The term Pathan or Pakhtan is generally accepted as describing the man who talks Pakhtu or Pashtu, and the Pathan clans all claim relationship with the Duranni races of Afghanistan and trace their descent from one Kais, said to have been eighteenth in descent from Saul, King of Israel, whose father was also called Kais or Kish. The Durrannis call themselves the Ben-i-Israel. The Pathan races live, with a few exceptions, west of the Indus, and while some inhabit the hills and valleys between the Indus and the foot of the main mountains, others lie in the stretch of hill country that is within our sphere, between the administered borders and the actual treaty frontier of Afghanistan, while many live within Afghanistan itself. It is thought by many authorities that all the Pathan, viz., Pashtu-speaking tribes, are not Afghan, and that some are either Hindu tribes of the hills who have accepted Islam and invented their pedigree, or are in some cases Turki and others who dropped by the way during some of the invasions. The Afridi, for instance, is thought to be of Rajput origin. Be that as it may, however, the Pathan tribes have all the same main characteristics, and are all equally hardy, active, and hereditary soldiers. Like the Punjab races, they are for the most part enlisted in class companies and squadrons, and, now that the 40th Pathans have a double company of Muhammadans of the Punjab, there is no wholly Pathan regiment. Eight companies of Pathans are perhaps more than one commandant can well handle.

They are a tall, handsome race, some of Jewish appearance, others fair with blue eyes and light hair and a European look. Their cheery jaunty ways and their keenness make them very acceptable to their British officer. The principal tribes that enlist are the clans of

the Yusufzai, from the Peshawur Valley and hills beyond; the Mohmands, from the hills north of the Kabul River; the Afridis, from the Tirah south of the Khaiber; the Orakzais, who live south of the Afridis; and the Darwesh Khel and Mahsud Wasiris, from Waziristan, south of the Kurram River. In our own territory, immediately across the Indus south of the Kohat Kurram road, are the Khataks, who send a very large contingent to the ranks and are highly prized as soldiers. Up towards Kurram is also a tribe known as Bangash, who are freely enlisted. Many of the smaller clans are also enlisted. The Afridis send the largest contingent into the ranks, and are divided into several clans, the Malkdin, Kambar, Zakka, and Adamkhel being the most important.

The Pathans are for the most part orthodox Sunni Muhammadans, though some of the clans are Shiahs. An Afghan, though not a Pathan race, who are enlisted in the 106th Pioneers and one or two other corps, are the Hazaras from the hills beyond Ghazni, an almond-eyed Tartar race, akin to the original Mogul, who speak Persian, and make excellent soldiers and still better pioneers.

The Baluch

The Baluch are a race of hill clans inhabiting the hills and plateaux south of the Pathans, who live principally in the districts known as Baluchistan and in the portion of the Suleiman Mountains close to the Indus. They are also to be found scattered, without tribal organization, along the valley of the Indus. They are Muhammadans, probably of Arab origin, and are free from the fanaticism of the Pathan. Of distinctly semitic type, their long oiled locks and beards give them a Biblical appearance which at times is remarkable. The tribal Baluch of the hills has many admirable traits, and would make a fine soldier could he be induced to wear a uniform and submit to discipline. A few of them serve in the cavalry, and the three Baluch battalions have a few companies drawn from them. In some of the tribal levies in the Derajat, they give excellent service.

The Gurkha and the Garhwali

Before coming to the races further south in the Indian Peninsula, it will be as well to take the other foreign element which is as popular

and as largely enlisted in the Indian Army as the Pathan. The Gurkha is the inhabitant of Nepal, an independent Hindu state on the southern slopes of the Himalayas north of Oude, some 500 miles in length, with a width of 90 or 140 miles. It consists of four tracts, viz., the Terai, the Duns, the hill tracts, and the Alpine region. Three main rivers divide the length into three basins, usually known as Western, Central, and Eastern Nepal. It is inhabited by several races, merging from the Rajput conquerors through varying degrees of crossed races into the almost pure Mongolian over whom the Rājputs, many centuries ago, gained ascendancy. The Mongolian tribes are those from whom most of the soldiers who enlist in our Army are taken. In the early days of enlistment the two great clans Magar and Gurung gave the bulk of the soldiery, and their short, sturdy Tartar faces are well known to all who have served in India. Of late years other tribes of Mongolian origin, Limbos, Rais, and Sunwars, have been enlisted, and are men of a slightly taller build. Two battalions also have been raised from the Khas tribes, viz., those in whom the Rajput blood is predominant. Altogether 20 battalions of Gurkhas now form part of the Indian Army. There are also a few in the Guides, several companies in the Kashmir Imperial Service Army, and several military police corps of Gurkhas on the Eastern Frontier. The term Gurkha is really a geographically one, being strictly applied to the inhabitants of the ancient kingdom of Gurkha which is only a small portion of the whole of modern Nepal. The term is now, however, used in a general racial sense. The Gurkha is a man to whom all forms of drill and soldiering are a perennial delight. The battalions stand on parade like crack corps of the British Army, and are clothed like the rifle regiments of the Line. They are in every way a class apart from the rest of the Indian Army, while the thin veneer of Hinduism over their original Buddhism gives them little in common with the inhabitants of India. The British soldier is still their favourite companion, and their officers minister in every way to this valuable feeling of aloofness which characterizes them. Cheery and soldierlike always, they have behind them a splendid record, which dates from the Sikh wars and the siege of Delhi.

The Garhwali is a Rajput from the hills adjoining and southwest of Nepal, with many of the characteristics of the Nepalese, and not devoid of some Mongolian strain. They give two battalions to the 39th Regiment of the Indian Line, and like the Gurkhas are dressed in rifle green and wear the Kilmarnock cap.

The Rajputs and Brahmins of Hindustan and Rajputana

Reference has been made to the class which prior to 1857 furnished so large a portion of the native Army, just as for centuries they had furnished troops to the Emperors at Delhi. Oude, Central India, and Rajputana had from time immemorial been the centre of the sway of the Aryan tribes. All over these provinces are to be found, forming the bulk of the landowning and cultivating classes, Rajputs and Brahmins in abundance. They have ever been a fine, tall, athletic people, and in the old Bengal Army, when well led, had plenty of glory to their name. Since the Mutiny, they no longer form the bulk of the Army, while they are less suited than the Punjabi to service in Afghanistan and on the North-West Frontier. Two battalions exist, however, entirely composed of Brahmins of Oude, and seven battalions consist of Hindu Rajputs other than those of the Punjab. Some are Rajputs of Oude, some Rajputs of Rajputana, who to some extent keep their pure clan organization. There are many Rajput squadrons in the cavalry, and many battalions have Rajput class companies.

Jats and Gujars

The arrival of these two races in India and their admittance into the Hindu hierarchy have been referred to already. The Jats of Delhi and Bhurtpur are the same race as the Jats of the Punjab and, as Jats, have many of the characteristics of the higher class Hindu races. They are enlisted in one class cavalry regiment and two class Jat battalions, and also furnish certain class companies and squadrons in other corps. They make good hardy soldiers, and are well liked by officers who have to do with them. The Gujars are a somewhat similar race, scattered as cultivators and graziers over a large portion of Hindustan, and are enlisted in certain class companies.

The Muhammadans of Hindustan and the deccan

Allusion has already been made to the colonization of certain districts by the invading Afghans and Moguls, and the conversion of many people to Islam. The soldiers of fortune from the invaders also settled here and there throughout the whole of India. It is chiefly the invaders' descendants, who intermarried with the women of the country, that are still enlisted in the Army. Certain Rajput tribes, in addition to those already referred to in the Punjab, also adopted Islam, notably the Rangars from the vicinity of Delhi. These Muhammadans of Hindustan are enlisted in one class Muhammadan battalions and certain class company corps. They formerly were intermingled in the ranks with the Rajputs and Brahmins of Oude.

The Muhammadans of the Deccan are enlisted in some of the Mahratta regiments and in certain of the class company corps. They are chiefly men descended from Afghan, Mogul, Arab, or Persian soldiers of fortune.

The Mahratta

The Mahratta is something of an ethnological puzzle. He inhabits the highlands of the Deccan plateau and the summits of the Western Ghats, above the Bombay coast, and stretches down to the lowland or Konkhan below. He is apparently descended from a fusion of Rajput and Dravidian races, though more or less accorded Rajput and other high grade Hindu status. Notorious for years as irregular horsemen and raiders, and at one time the rulers of such part of the Mogul Empire as remained, they are now an exceedingly prosperous land-owning and land-cultivating people. For many years they formed the backbone of the Bombay Army, and were wiry, hardy soldiers. The march of plenty of late years has disinclined them for service. A squadron or two in the cavalry, and six out of eight companies in the six so-called Mahratta battalions is all that this once famous race now contributes. The Mahratta Brahmins, that is to say the Brahmins who for many centuries have settled among the Mahrattas, contain some of the best brains in India, and have long been famous in the politics of India, as well as in the intrigues of the present day. The

Mahratta language is spoken by many Hindus who are not Mahrattas, and the real Mahratta clans who formed the nucleus of the old Mahratta Horse and raised the house of Seevaji, are not very numerous.

The Military races of the Carnatic

Up till the conclusion of the Mahratta and Pindari War of 1817, the old Coast Army, the Army of the Madras Presidency, was the most famous military body in India. Their long list of victories over the French and the princes of Southern India was remarkable. The ranks were filled with the descendants of the Muhammadan soldiers of fortune from the North who had settled in the country, from the outcast races and from the Hindu half-Dravidian races of the South. Years of peace and freedom from the old internecine wars have gradually deadened the martial proclivities of the people. The descendants of the Muhammadan invaders have been reinvigorated by no fresh blood, and experience has shown that the more extended sphere of action of the Army in northern climes does not suit the men of the south. Gradually the regiments of the Coast Army have been reconstituted, and the number that still enlist in the old recruiting grounds are but a remanant of a glorious past. Certain races, chiefly the low caste Parraiyyans or Pariahs, however, have long been famous in sapper and pioneer corps, and the three pioneer battalions of the old Madras Army are as efficient as ever they were, as are also the Madras Sappers. The classes enlisted are these : Parraiyyans, some native Christians, certain Tamils, a Hindu Dravidian people, and the better of the Muhammadan classes. In addition to the pioneer battalion, eight battalions of the Line are enlisted from these classes still.

The Madras soldier has many estimable qualities. He is a good shot, stands well under arms, drills well, and is susceptible of high training. As army signallers they have long been proficient. The pioneers and sappers are always in demand for a campaign, will turn their hand to anything, and have not suffered in the hard climate of the frontier.

Conclusion

The foregoing notes outline the principal races which

contribute to the Indian Army, though there are still a few communities that have not been enumerated, who serve in small numbers. The Indian Army may perhaps be considered one of the most wonderful creations of our race. This native Army, with its small proportion of British officers, has fought for us the length and breadth of Hindustan. It has marched to Kabul and Peking, and on four different occasions in the last hundred years or so has served us in Egypt. We did not hesitate to bring it into line against the French in Egypt, and it helped us to attack hostile positions within its reach in the Napoleonic wars. So late as 1878 we saw an Indian force brought to Malta, and wherever we have seen fit to send it there it has gone, cheery, content, and patient. The varying races that compose it serve in the most harmonious terms with their alien officers who share the amusements and the troubles of their men. That in the course of three centuries of alien rule it should have risen once against us is hardly surprising, and may be forgiven when we dwell upon its services before and after that event. The success of the British officer with alien troops is perhaps chiefly due, apart from his commanding qualities as a leader of men, to the implicit belief he is wont to place in those with whom he is associated, a belief that brought many to their death in 1857, yet without which no alien army can be led. The alien armies of the world, however, can only be faithful so long as the rulers are strong and true to themselves. When central Rome tottered, its legions fell away, and it has been aptly remarked that the soldier of India resembles in his fidelity the affection of the cat who values the house more than the master.

The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*

REGINALD HODDER

Introduction

Our native army in India is principally composed of Sikhs, Pathans, Punjabi Mussalmans, and Gurkhas. Each of these races has acquired in its own way a high reputation for valour and martial skill, and it need not be doubted that the men drawn from these sources in the East to confront a relentless foe in the west are absolutely reliable.

Quite a third of the Indian Army is composed of Sikhs. They are not exactly a race, but are a military and religious caste, the only modern importation into their religion being a savour of socialism. The Sikh sect dates from the fifteenth century, when Baba Nanak raised them, so to speak, from the indiscriminate mass, to governing positions in the Punjab. This was partly owing to their strong religious sentiment, but principally to their military capabilities. In course of time, they came to dominate the whole of Northern India, and reached the height of their power under the Maharajah Ranjit Singh (1780-1839). The Sikh wars of 1845-6 and of 1848-9 are a matter of history. In these, both British and Sikhs fought with the utmost gallantry. But, since 1849, the brave Sikhs have been loyal British subjects, and have fought on our side not only in the Indian Mutiny, but in Abyssinia, Afghanistan, China, Burma, Somaliland, and Tibet. At the present time, the Indian Army includes thirteen Sikh battalions, and there are one or more Sikh squadrons in each of the cavalry regiments, as well as a company or two in each of the infantry battalions.

The Khalsa Sikh is the beau-ideal of everything high and noble in the Sikh race. Stirred by the depths of his own religion, he fought and conquered at its behest. And to him is owing the high reputation

*From the *Famous Fights of Indian Native Regiments* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1914), pp. 9-18, 109-130.

and romantic popularity of an honoured name. The Khalsa Sikh is derived from many different castes, but principally from the Jats of the Punjab, whose character has responded to, and whose development has been moulded by, the self-reliant, warlike, and manly teachings of their ideal law-giver and hero. [Guru] Govind Singh, from whom their name is derived—the word Sikh being originally *Singh*

It is to the Jat element that the Sikh owes his most lofty characteristics. Thus the Jat Sikh respects himself wisely. His racial pride is based on the knowledge that he is justly, and without doubt, the flower of India. With him, as with all others who undertake great deeds in the present, the natural stimulus to such deeds is the stirring song of heroic achievements in the past.

The well-known fighting races inhabiting the Punjab, such as the Sikhs and Pathans, are supplemented by a considerable number of smaller fighting castes. All these are either of Rajput, Jat, or Tartar descent; but, being mostly Mahomedans, they are prone to claim Moghul or Arab origin.

The Sikhs

There are three great classes of Sikhs: the Sikh by race, the Sikh by religious sect, and the Sikh by political conviction. They are, however, divided tribally as follows :-

- The Jat Sikhs,
- The Khattri Sikhs,
- The Kamboh Sikhs,
- The Lobana Sikhs,
- The Sikh Chuhars or Mazhbis,
- The Sikh Tarkhans,
- The Kalal Sikhs.

THE JAT SIKHS:—Our Jat recruits are drawn from the Eastern Jats, a race of hardy husbandmen. They are, so to speak, a clan of Indian agricultural peasantry. They came originally from the highlands of Scythia. These men possess the necessary instincts of the soldier, and their history has been marked by stern, hard fighting.

THE KHATTRI SIKHS:—These are the merchant caste of the Punjabis.

THE KAMBOH SIKHS :— These make excellent soldiers, being of very fine physique and possessing great courage. They have always been noted for their cunning strategy, which now, being far less 'slim' than in former times, has developed into the permissible strategy of war.

THE LOBANA SIKHS :—These are the social equals of the Jats.

THE SIKH CHUHRAS OR MAZHBIS :—The term 'Mazhbis' has now come to be applied to all Chuhras who have adopted Sikhism as their religion. The true Mazhbis are descendants of certain chuhras, who rescued in a heroic fashion the body of Guru Teg Bahadur from the Mahomedans, thus saving it from being dishonoured. In return for this, Guru's son, Govind Singh, bestowed upon them the title of 'Mazhbis Rangreta' (Chosen Brave), and invited them into the fold of Sikhism. Therefore, the name Mazhbis belongs properly to the descendants of these particular Chuhra families. Inspired as they are by the glorious history and traditions of Khalsa, these men make excellent soldiers.

SIKH TARKHANS :—Tarkhans are carpenters by caste and profession. They are intelligent and industrious men, of whom about 20 per cent. are Sikhs by religion, the rest being Hindu or Mahomedan. Sikh Tarkhans, if carefully recruited, could supply a fair number of good soldiers.

KALAL SIKHS :—The Kalals are by caste and profession distillers and wine merchants on a small scale. Twenty-five per cent. of these have now embraced Sikhism, the rest being Hindu or Mahomedan; the Hindus being about 50 per cent. of the whole, and the Mahomedans about 25 per cent. Sikh Kalals are often styled Alhuwalias, from the fact that the famous and important Alhuwalia Misl was founded by the Kalal convert to Sikhism. The Chiefs of Kapurthala have always been Kalals by descent, and, since the rise of the Sikh Kalals to political prominence, they have largely given up their original profession to take to the more respectable avocations of merchandise and agriculture. The Kalals have a reputation for "enterprise, mercy and obstinacy"; and the Sikh Kalals make good soldiers, being of good physique and great hardihood.

The stately, manly Sikh has a character all his own. He has the manly virtues of honesty, industry, and tenacity well developed. He is independent, patient, and full of methodical, laborious energy; and, of all the Sikh tribes of whom this description is more or less true, the Jat may be particularly mentioned.

The Sikh race is drawn from the Punjab tribes, such as the Jat and Khattri, who from time immemorial have been renowned for their sturdy grit and independence. It may perhaps be said that the Jat-Sikh combines especially the best qualities of the Pathan races with those of the Sikh tribes.

All the Punjab races are, as a rule, impatient of control, but the Jat is particularly so, exercising in his impatience a fine quality of individual freedom. This, together with the fact that he is neither truculent nor turbulent, provides him with one of the finest qualities of a well-disciplined soldier, in contradistinction to the machine-made soldier. Well understood, he can be, and has been, well managed. Encouraged to continue in his own peaceful agricultural ways, he is reasonable and contented in doing his work; but if he is roused by what he considers unjust aggression, or any unsolicited interference, he is a dangerous man to deal with.

These salient characteristics of the Jat, combined with other qualities cultivated by British rule and example, have tintured practically the whole Sikh race.

Respect of self and pride of race have now improved from the Sikh character the early intolerance and ungovernable spirit emanating from the Jats. Even the Sikh religion, as taught by its founder Nanak, has modified the hard-and-fast prejudices of the Hindu on the one hand, and on the other has eliminated the baser rancour and fanaticism of the more exoteric Mahomedanism.

The Sikh of to-day is a level-headed, sober-minded, tolerant man, keenly alive to practical issues. And from this may be judged his valour as a soldier. In the thick of battle the Sikh is cool and resolute. He is possessed of grim determination and tenacity. Just as in any emergency of social life he will keep his head with admirable self-restraint, so in the clash of battle he can be relied upon to do the

right thing at the right moment in the right way. While not possessing quite so much *elan* as some other tribes, he more than compensates for that lack by his immunity from any tendency to panic.

The high-class Sikh may always be known by his stately bearing and lofty courtesy. His every movement is graceful, and the general impression one would get on the approach of a real Sikh is simply this: "Here comes one who is a prince in his own country." This dignity of bearing extends even to the lower classes, especially among our Sepoys, who carry themselves with an easy elegance, much of which is attributable to their splendid physique and the due consciousness of it.

It is not too much to say that of all the fine races of the East, there is no type of man superior to the Sikh. In innate breeding he can tread the razor-edge between independence and insolence, between firm resolution and unreasoning obstinacy, between the present value of tradition and the dead husk of the glorified past. In his respect of himself, he commands respect from others, and, combining the essential instinct of the soldier with the acquired love of practical ideals he can see with a single eye what the double-headed vulture of Prussia cannot see with four.

Constant fighting and an iron discipline had kept the Sikhs in order during the lifetime of Ranjit Singh, but after his death the army became unmanageable.

The history of the Sikh War is too well known to need more than passing reference. The troops of the Khalsa were defeated after a series of hard-fought battles, in which they showed soldierly qualities of the highest order. In the decade which followed the conquest of the Punjab, the British Government, impressed with the fighting capacity of their former opponents, determined to employ them as soldiers in their own army.

On the outbreak of the Mutiny, which from the first was identified with the restoration of the Moghul power, there was an immense revival of Sikhism. Hundreds of Sikhs who had turned their swords into ploughshares flocked to Lahore, and eagerly took service in the regiments there being raised by Lord Lawrence. All were filled with

an intense longing to range themselves on the side of justice and right. All were anxious to assist in the capture of Delhi—a city associated in their minds with the heroic struggles and reverses of their forefathers. The spirit of the Khalsa, which had suffered greatly by the defeats on the Sutlej, was aroused at the thought of a conflict between Sikhism and Islam—a conflict the memory of which is now not only nobly forgotten, but to be blotted out for ever by heroism and sacrifice; for both Sikh and Mahomedan of India have joined hands in common cause against the enemy of all human progress. Both have espoused our cause with a devotion and loyalty which is almost without parallel in history.

The Sikh Regiments, with their battle honours

Cavalry

The following regiments contain squadrons of Sikhs :—

- 2nd Lancers (Gardner's Horse)
- 3rd Skinner's Horse.
- 4th Cavalry.
- 6th King Edward's Own Cavalry.
- 7th Haryana Lancers
- 9th Hodson's Horse.
- 10th Duke of Cambridge's Own Lancers (Hodson's Horse).
- 11th King Edward's Own Lancers (Probyn's Horse).
- 12th Cavalry.
- 13th Duke of Connaught's Lancers.
- 16th Cavalry.
- 18th King George's Own Lancers.
- 19th Lancers (Fane's Horse).
- 20th Deccan Horse.
- 21st Prince Albert Victor's Own Cavalry (Frontier Force) (Daly's Horse).
- 22nd Sam Browne's Cavalry (Frontier Force).
- 23rd Cavalry (Frontier Force).
- 25th Cavalry (Frontier Force).
- 29th Lancers (Deccan Horse).
- 30th Lancers (Gordon's Horse).
- 31st Duke of Connaught's Own Lancers.

- 32nd Lancers.
 33rd Queen Victoria's Own Light Cavalry.
 36th Jacob's Horse.
 37th Lancers (Baluch Horse).
 38th King George's Own Central India Horse.
 39th King George's Own Central India Horse.

Infantry

The following regiments are composed exclusively of Sikhs :-

14th King George's own Ferozepore Sikhs. Raised July 30th, 1846.

Consists of 8 companies of Sikhs.

BADGES:- The Plume of the Prince of Wales. The Royal and Imperial Cypher.

BATTLE HONOURS:- "Lucknow", "Ali Masjid", "Afghanistan 1878/79", "Defence of Chitral", "China 1900".

UNIFORM:- Scarlet, facings yellow.

15th Ludhiana Sikhs :- Raised 1846.

Consist of 8 companies of Sikhs.

BATTLE HONOURS :- "China 1860/62," "Ahmad Khel," "Kandahar 1880," "Afghanistan 1878/80," "Suakim 1885," "Tofrek," "Chitral," "Punjab Frontier," "Tirah."

UNIFORM:- Scarlet, facings emerald green.

23rd Sikh Pioneers. Raised 1857.

Consists of 8 companies of Mazhbi Sikhs.

BATTLE HONOURS. — "Taku Forts," "Pekin," "Abyssinia," "Peiwar Kotal," "Charasiah," Kabul 1879," "Kandahar 1880," "Afghanistan 1878/80," "Chitral."

UNIFORM : - Drab, facings chocolate.

32nd Sikh Pioneers Raised 1857,

Consists of 8 companies of Mazhbi Sikhs.

MOTTO — "Aut viam inveniam aut faciam."

BATTLE HONOURS :- "Delhi," "Lucknow," Afghanistan 1878/80," "Chitral

UNIFORM :- Scarlet facings blue.

34th Sikh Pioneers. Raised 1887.

Consists of 8 companies of Mazhbi Sikhs.

BATTLE HONOURS :—"Chitral" "Punjab Frontier," "China 1900."

UNIFORM :— Scarlet, facings blue.

35th Sikhs. Raised 1798, disbanded 1882, reformed 1887. Consists of 8 companies of Sikhs.

BATTLE HONOURS. — "Punjab Frontier," "Malakand."

UNIFORM. —Scarlet, Facings yellow.

36th Sikhs. Raised 1858, disbanded 1882, reformed 1887.

Consists of 8 companies of Sikhs.

BATTLE HONOURS:—"Punjab Frontier," "Samara," "Tirah".

UNIFORM:— Scarlet, facings yellow,

47th Sikhs:--Raised 1901.

Consists of 8 Companies of Sikhs.

UNIFORM. — Scarlet facings yellow.

The 48th Pioneers, 51st Sikhs (Frontier Force), 52nd Sikhs (Frontier Force), 53rd Sikhs (Frontier Force), and 54th Sikhs (Frontier Force) are Sikh regiments with other tribes intermixed.

The First Sikh War

(Moodkee, 1845)

It can hardly be said that when Sir H. Hardinge arrived in India in 1844 he found our frontier forces insufficient in numbers or unprepared for action. When the first Sikh war broke out in December, 1845, there were at Umballa 12,000 men with 32 guns, at Ferozepore 10,472 with 24 guns, and at Ludhiana 7,235 with 12 guns. Including the force of 1,800 at the hill stations this made a total of 32,479 men with 68 guns—a very respectable little British army.

On December 7th and 8th, news came from Lahore to the effect that preparations were being made on a large scale for artillery, stores, and all the munitions of war, but as yet no infantry or artillery had been reported to have left Lahore, nor had a single Sikh soldier crossed the Sutlej. On the 9th, at night, Captain Nicholson, the assistant political agent at Ferozepore, reported that a portion of the Sikh army had approached within three miles of the river. On the 10th, no intelligence was received from Lahore confirmatory of Captain Nicholson's report, and the opinion continued to prevail that the Sikh army would not cross the Sutlej. Our troops, however, moved

on the 10th, 11th, 12th, in pursuance of orders given on the 7th and 8th; and the whole of the forces destined to move up to the Sutlej were in full march on the 12th. Some days later the whole of the Ludhiana force was moved up with the Umballa force, restricting the defence of Ludhiana to the fort, which could be securely garrisoned by the soldiers left at that post, unless attacked by heavy artillery, which was a very improbable contingency.

This fine body of men, by a rapid march on Busseean, an important point where the roads leading from Umballa and Kurnaul meet, formed the advanced column of the army, and secured the supplies which had been laid in at Busseean. Up to the morning of the 12th, the information from Lahore had not materially varied; but, by the reports received on that day, the general aspect of affairs appeared more warlike. Still no Sikh aggression had been committed, and no artillery had moved down to the river. On the 13th, however, Sir Henry Hardinge received precise information that the Sikh army had crossed the Sutlej, and was concentrating a great force on the left bank of the river. Sir Henry immediately ordered Brigadier Wheeler to march, with 4,500 men and twenty-one guns, early on the 14th from Ludhiana to Busseean, which place had been filled with provisions by arrangements made through Major Broadfoot with the native chiefs - provisions upon which the British army depended in its advance to Ferozepore. By the afternoon of the 14th, Brigadier Wheeler was in front of Busseean. The main column, under the Commander-in-Chief, from Umballa, did not reach Busseean until the 16th.

The Sikhs had not completed the passage of their heavy guns until the 16th, and, by the 17th the advance of the force under the Commander-in-Chief began to tell upon them, for on the 17th the main body, consisting, according to the Sikh accounts, of 25,000 regulars and 88 guns, under Lal Singh, took possession of the wells around the village of Ferozeshah, whilst Tej Singh with 23,000 men and 67 guns remained opposite to Ferozepore. Now the only road by which an army can march from Busseean to Ferozepore (on account of the scarcity of water) passes through Moodkee, and is about twenty miles, Ferozeshah being

mid-way. Knowing that the Commander-in-Chief must carry these works before he could relieve Ferozepore, the Sikhs commenced on December 17th to throw up entrenchments around the wells at Ferozeshah in order to stop the advance of the column under the Commander-in-Chief. Not knowing the strength of his column, and thinking it was only the advance guard of the British army, 12,000 Sikhs, chiefly, cavalry, and 22 guns, under the command of Lal Singh, left the camp at Ferozeshah, early on the 18th, and had taken up their position at Moodkee before the arrival of the British army. No sooner had our troops arrived than a scout sent by the political agent brought the news that the enemy was only three miles away.

The British troops hastily got under arms and moved to their positions. Sir Hugh Gough immediately pushed forward the horse artillery and cavalry, and directed the infantry, accompanied by the field batteries, to move forward in support. Sir Hugh's own description is a good one. He says, "We had not proceeded beyond two miles when we found the enemy in position. To resist their attack, and to cover the formation of the infantry, I advanced the cavalry, under Brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier, rapidly to the front in columns of squadrons, and occupied the plain. They were speedily followed by the five troops of horse artillery under Brigadier Brooke, who took up a forward position, having the cavalry then on his flank.

"The country is a dead flat, covered at short intervals with a low but in some places thick jhow jungle, and dotted with sandy hillocks. The enemy screened their infantry and artillery behind this jungle and such undulations as the ground afforded; and whilst our twelve battalions formed from echelon of brigade into line they opened a very severe cannonade upon our advancing troops, which was vigorously replied to by the battery of horse artillery under Brigadier Brooke, which was soon joined by the two light field batteries. The rapid and well-directed fire of our artillery appeared soon to paralyse that of the enemy; and as it was necessary to complete our infantry dispositions without advancing the artillery too near to the jungle, I directed the cavalry under Brigadiers White and Gough

to make a flank movement on the enemy's left, with a view of threatening and turning that flank if possible. With praiseworthy gallantry, the 3rd Light Dragoons (now known as the 3rd (King's Own) Hussars), with the second brigade of cavalry, consisting of the Body-guard and 5th Light Cavalry, with a portion of the 4th Lancers,* turned the left of the Sikh army, and sweeping along the whole rear of its infantry and guns, silenced for a time the latter and put their numerous cavalry to flight. Whilst this movement was taking place on the enemy's left, I directed the remainder of the 4th Lancers, the 9th Irregular Cavalry* under Brigadier Mactier, with a light field battery, to threaten their right.

"This manoeuvre was also successful. Had not the infantry and guns of the enemy been screened by the jungle, these brilliant charges of the cavalry would have been productive of greater effect.

"When the infantry advanced to the attack, Brigadier Brooke rapidly pushed on his horse artillery close to the jungle, and the cannonade was resumed on both sides. The infantry, under Major-Generals Sir Harry Smith, Gilbert, and Sir John M'Caskill, attacked in echelon of lines the enemy's infantry, almost invisible amongst wood and the approaching darkness of night. The opposition of the enemy was such as might have been expected from troops who had everything at stake, and who had long vaunted of being irresistible. Their ample and extended line, from their great superiority of numbers, far outflanked ours; but this was counteracted by the flank movements of our cavalry. The attack of the infantry now commenced, and the roll of fire from this powerful arm soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they little expected; and their whole force was driven from position after position with great slaughter, and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery, some of them of heavy calibre; our infantry using that never-failing weapon, the bayonet, whenever the enemy stood. Night only saved them from worse disaster, for this stout conflict was maintained during an hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which yet more obscured every object."

*Native Regiments.

Our troops in this battle consisted of 3,850 Europeans and 8,500 natives, making a total of 12,350 rank and file, and 41 guns. Sixteen officers were killed and 200 men; forty-eight officers wounded and 609 men, of whom 153 died subsequently of their wounds, or were disabled. Amongst those who fell was the hero of Jellalabad, Sir Robert Sale; he had his left thigh shattered by grape-shot, and the wound proved mortal. Had there been more daylight, the rout of the enemy would have been more complete; as it was, seventeen of their guns out of twenty were captured, and their loss in killed and wounded was very severe. Yet it must be said that, in this battle of Moodkee, our friend the enemy fought bravely and well—so well that, casting a backward glance on that day of glorious deeds, we are now proud to claim him as a friend indeed.

Aliwal and Sobraon (1846)

Badly beaten at Ferozeshah, the Sikhs naturally expected that the British troops would at once follow up their advantage by crossing the Sutlej and advancing on the capital; but in order to do this successfully, it was necessary to wait the arrival of the powerful battering train now moving upwards with the Meerut force under Sir John Grey, consisting of the 9th Lancers, the 16th Lancers, and Her Majesty's 10th and 53rd Regiments of Foot, with the 43rd and 59th regiments of Native Infantry.

The Sikhs, mistaking this delay for irresolution, resolved to make another effort to maintain their position on the left bank of the Sutlej; and for this purpose they began to construct a new bridge of boats, not very far from the spot where they crossed the river after having been driven from Ferozeshah. Our Army of the Sutlej was stationed some distance from the river, and no opposition was offered by them. The bridge of boats was soon constructed, and works thrown up in front of it with much military skill, in a position very favourable to defence. The opposite banks were high, and the river, where the bridge was laid, made a slight curve inwards, so as to throw those banks sufficiently forward to afford protection to both flanks of the advanced position from heavy artillery placed in battery. Above the bridge, and not far from it, was a good ford, which facilitated the communications with the forces on the opposite bank.

Advantage had also been taken of the slenderness of our troops at Ludhiana to effect a passage for a force of about 10,000 men of all arms, in the neighbourhood of that town. No attack was made either on the town or cantonment of Ludhiana; the object of this force appeared to be rather to entrench itself near the place at which it crossed, in order to obstruct our progress and to cut off the passage of supplies to Ferozepore, and to intercept the communication between the posts.

As soon as the Meerut force joined the Commander-in-Chief's camp, immediate measures were taken to reinforce the Ludhiana post and the station at Busseean. Some native Infantry, some light cavalry, and some guns were sent thither, and the sick, the women and the children were removed thence to Umballa. Meanwhile Sir Harry Smith had been detached to reduce Dhurmokote and keep open the communication for supplies and ammunition from our rear. Sir Harry was now reinforced, having with him 7,000 men and 24 guns, and it was confidently believed that he could at one and the same time relieve Ludhiana and protect the whole of our rear. Dhurmokote was evacuated at his approach. On the way from Jugraon to Ludhiana he lost a good deal of his baggage, and sustained some heavy fusilades, which he did not wait to return. His troops were much harassed when he reached Ludhiana, but his presence put an end to the consternation which was becoming general in that part of the country.

The Sirdar Runjur Singh had strongly entrenched himself at Aliwal, about eight miles to the westward of Ludhiana. He had 15,000 men and 56 guns, and on the evening of January 26th, he received a reinforcement of 12 guns and 4,000 regular troops. Sir Harry Smith most gallantly attacked the Sikhs on January 28th with not more than 16,000 men in all. The right of the Sikh force rested on Bundree, and their left on Aliwal. When they had advanced a short distance from their entrenched camp, they cannonaded the British for half an hour, until our brave fellows stormed the village of Aliwal, the key of their position. The whole of the British line then began to advance. Her Majesty's 16th Lancers charged in the most gallant style, but the Sikhs lay down on the ground and the Lancers could not easily

reach them. In this position, the Sikhs did deadly work with their muskets and keen swords. The 10th Lancers had upwards of a hundred men killed or wounded. The great mass of Sikh infantry could be broken only by our artillery. One Sikh cannon after another was captured. So ably were the orders of attack conducted, each column and line arriving at its point of attack to the very moment, that the enemy was soon driven headlong back over the river, and all their guns were captured or destroyed. Only one gun was carried by the Sikhs to the opposite bank, and there it was spiked by Lieutenant Holmes, of the Irregular Cavalry, and Gunner Scott, of the Horse Artillery, who forded the river in pursuit. The victory was complete, and great was the confusion among the Sikhs.

After this complete and decisive victory, there was a breathing space in the campaign. The Sikhs at Sobraon went on strengthening their position, while Sir Hugh Gough waited for his artillery and reinforcements. From January 14th till the beginning of February, the enemy was industriously employed in building defences, under the direction, it is said, of a Spanish engineer. The army under Sir Charles Napier, which had been assembled at Sukkar by order of the Governor-General consisting of 16,000 men, was moving up to the left bank of the Sutlej towards Ferozepore, and would have proved, had the war lasted, a most valuable reinforcement to the Army of the Sutlej. It had by this time reached Bahawalpur, opposite Mooltan, and as the Nawab of that place had intimated to the British Government his intention of remaining neutral, the Governor-General, feeling that the blow must be struck and the contest decided at Lahore, requested Sir Charles Napier to come on with his staff in advance of his army, and to join him without delay, being desirous of having the assistance of that distinguished officer in the pending struggle. Sir Charles Napier did not, however, arrive in time to add to the glories of Sobraon, but the heavy guns from Delhi reached the Commander-in-Chief's camp on February 9th.

Although on the first intelligence of the battle of Aliwal, and at sight of the numerous bodies which floated from the neighbourhood of that battlefield down to the bridge of boats at Sobraon, the Sikhs seemed much shaken and disheartened, they now appeared to be as

confident as ever of being able to defy us in their entrenched position and to prevent our passage of the river. The soldiers were chiefly those who had been trained by the French and Italian officers. They had strong walls, only to be surmounted by scaling ladders, which afforded a secure protection for triple lines of musketry. In all they were 34,000 men with 70 pieces of artillery; their position was united by a good bridge to a reserve of 20,000 men on the opposite bank, on which was a considerable camp and some artillery, commanding and flanking our fieldworks.

Sir Hugh Gough's forces consisted of 6,533 Europeans and 9,691 natives, making a total of 16,224 rank and file, with 99 guns. Sir Hugh ordered this force to march at halfpast three, on the morning of Tuesday, February 10th, when his men would be fresh and there would be a certainty of many hours of daylight. The troops began to move out of camp at the very moment appointed, and they marched in silence to their destination. Sir Hugh was now strong in cavalry and very strong in artillery. He at once put his battering and disposable artillery in position in an extended semicircle, embracing within its fire the works of the Sikhs.

It had been intended that the cannonade should commence at daybreak, but so heavy a mist hung over the plain and river that it was necessary to wait. It was half-past six before the whole of the artillery was developed. Dr. M'Gregor, in his *History of the Sikhs*, gives a graphic description of the opening of the action. He says: "Nothing could have been conceived grander than the effect of the batteries when they opened, as the cannonade passed along from the Sutlej to Little Sohraon in one continued roar of guns and mortars; while, ever and anon, the rocket like a spirit of fire winged its rapid flight high above the batteries in its progress towards the Sikh entrenchments. Well might the Commander-in-Chief call the opening of the cannonade 'most spirited and well directed.' The Sikh guns responded with shot and shell, but neither appeared to do much execution; the latter were seen bursting in mid-air ere they reached the British batteries, while some of the shot passed over Rhodawala, and struck the ground in front of General Gilbert's division. It now became a grand artillery concert,

and the infantry divisions and brigades looked on with a certain degree of interest, somewhat allied, however, to vexation, lest the artillery should have the whole work to themselves. The Commander-in-Chief, however, was determined to give full play to an arm which he had not possessed to an efficient extent in other hard-fought battles. It was reported that the guns were to play for four hours at least; but there is some reason to believe that the rapid firing had nearly exhausted the ammunition before half that time had elapsed, and it was once more to be proved that the British Infantry were not to remain mute spectators of a battle. 'Notwithstanding,' wrote the Commander-in-Chief, 'the formidable calibre of our guns, mortars, and howitzers, and the admirable way in which they were served, and aided by a rocket battery, it would have been visionary to expect that they could have silenced the fire of seventy pieces behind well-constructed batteries of earth, planks, and fascines. or dislodge troops covered either by redoubts or epaulements or within a treble line of trenches.'

The utmost ingenuity of the Sikhs and their Europeans advisers had been exerted to render the works at Sobraon vastly superior to those at Ferozeshah. They had aimed at absolute impregnability, and a French officer assured Tej Singh that it was utterly impossible for the British to make good their entrance. But it may be said they reckoned without the small host opposing them. The British were now about to try with the musket and the bayonet. At nine o'clock, Brigadier Stacey's brigade, supported on either flank by Captain Horford's and Fordyce's batteries, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lane's troop of horse artillery moved to the attack in admirable order. The infantry and guns aided each other correlatively. The former marched steadily on in line, which they halted only to correct when necessary, while latter took up successive positions at the gallop, until at length they were within three hundred yards of the heavy batteries of the Sikhs. But notwithstanding the regularity and coolness, and the scientific character of the assault, which Brigadier Wilkinson well supported, so hot was the fire of cannon and musketry kept up by the Khalsa troops that it seemed for some moments impossible that the entrenchments could be won under it. This

fire was all the more formidable from the fact that Sikhs employed zumburuks guns mounted on camels and carrying pound shot.

There was a temporary check or pause, but, soon, persevering gallantry triumphed, and the whole army had the satisfaction of seeing Brigadier Stacey's gallant soldiers driving the Sikhs in confusion before them within the area of their encampment. Every impediment was cleared, the entrenchment were passed, and our matchless infantry stood erect and compact within the Sikh camp. Said the Commander-in Chief: "Her Majesty's 10th, 53rd, and 80th Regiments, with the 33rd, 43rd, 59th, and 63rd Native Infantry, moving at a firm and steady pace, never fired a shot until they had passed the barriers opposed to them—a forbearance much to be commended, and most worthy of constant imitation, to which may be attributed the success of their first effort, and the small loss they sustained".

This attack was crowned with all the success it deserved, and, led by its gallant Commander, Major-General Sir Robert Dick, obtained the admiration of the army, which witnessed its disciplined valour. When checked by the formidable obstacles and superior numbers to which the attacking division was opposed, the second division, under Major General Gilbert, afforded the most opportune assistance by rapidly advancing to the attack of the enemy's batteries entering their fortified position after a severe struggle, and sweeping through the interior of the camp. This division inflicted a very severe loss on the retreating enemy. Together with a portion of Gilbert's division, the troops advanced immediately the order was received. But, if intended to support Stacey on the right of the enemy's position, they missed the object, for they unfortunately came in front of the centre and strongest portion of the encampment, unsupported either by artillery or cavalry. Her Majesty's 29th and 1st European Light Infantry, with undaunted bravery, rushed forward, crossed a dry nullah, and found themselves exposed to one of the hottest fires of musketry that can possibly be imagined; and what rendered it still more galling was that the Sikhs were themselves concealed behind high walls, over which the European soldiers could not climb. To remain under such a fire without the power of returning it with any

effect would have been madness—the men would have been annihilated. Thrice did Her Majesty's 29th Regiment charge the works, and thrice were they obliged to retire, each time followed by the Sikhs who spared none. Similar was the fate of the 1st European Light Infantry, who, in retiring, had their ranks thinned by musketry and their wounded men and officers cut up by the Sikhs. To the latter, the nullah afforded an admirable defence, for the slope was in their favour, while the Europeans, on the high bank were completely exposed. At length the second division, which at Ferozeshah had driven the Sikhs before them, capturing their guns at the point of the bayonet and entering their encampment, were led to the right of the entrenchment at Sobraon. The second division was followed by the first division, which, under Sir Harry Smith, dashed against the enemy's left. Yet it was not until the 3rd Light Dragoons, under Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, had moved forward and ridden through the openings of the entrenchments in single file, re-forming as they passed them, and galloped over and cut down the obstinate defenders of batteries and field-works—indeed, it was not until the weight of three entire divisions of infantry, with every field artillery gun which could be sent to their aid, had been cast into the scale that victory finally fell to our troops. The fire of the Sikhs slackened, then almost ceased; and the victors, pressing them on every side, swept them in masses over the bridge of boats and into the Sutlej, which a sudden rise of seven inches had rendered scarcely fordable.

In their efforts to reach the right bank through the deepened water, they suffered a terrible carnage from our horse artillery. Hundreds fell under this cannonade, hundreds upon hundreds were drowned in attempting the perilous passage.

Thus terminated, in the brief space of two hours, this most remarkable conflict, in which the military combinations of the Commander-in-Chief were fully and ably carried into effect. The enemy's select regiments of regular infantry had been dispersed, and a large proportion destroyed, with the loss, since the campaign began, of 220 pieces of artillery taken in action. Over sixty seven guns, together with upwards of 200 camel-swivels, and numerous

standards were captured within the entrenchments. Before the hour of noon this great battle was over. It might, indeed, be well termed a glorious fight and complete in its results. The battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Aliwal had weakened the power of the Sikhs, but the battle of Sobraon had completely broken it. It was, of course, bought at a dear price. Her Majesty's 29th regiment alone lost in killed and wounded thirteen officers, eight sergeants, and 157 rank and file. The loss of the 1st European Light Infantry was still heavier. Her Majesty's 31st, which had fought most nobly at Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Aliwal, had seven officers and 147 rank and file killed and wounded at Sobraon. Her Majesty's 50th, or Queen's Own, had twelve officers and 227 rank and file killed and wounded. Her Majesty's 10th Foot lost three officers, three sergeants, and 127 rank and file. These regiments suffered the most, but other suffered severely. The total loss was 320 killed, 2,063 wounded. The brave Sir Robert Dick, who led the attack on the entrenchments, received a mortal wound after he had entered them. Says the historian: "Thus fell most gloriously, at moment of victory, this veteran officer, displaying the same energy and intrepidity as when, thirty-five years ago in Spain, he was the distinguished leader of the the 42nd Highlanders" (the 1st Battalion of the Black Watch).

Fearful had been the loss of the Sikhs. Five days after the action, and when the walls of the entrenchments had been nearly levelled with the ground, the sandbank in the middle of the river was completely covered with their dead bodies, and the ground within their encampment thickly strewn with carcasses of men and horses.

Before daylight the next morning six regiments of native infantry and six guns had, by means of country boats, crossed the Sutlej at a point nearer to the capital than where the debris of the Sikh army was stationed. On the following day the bridge of boats was nearly completed by the able and indefatigable Major Abbott, of the Engineers. Had the British then followed up the Sikhs, they might have made their way without resistance to Lahore, and have there renewed the conflict; but such was not the intention of our commanders, and the capital of the Punjab was destined to be occupied by the British without any repetition of the life-consuming struggles

which had occurred on the left bank of the Sutlej. If pressed, they would have fought hard in their despair; but the power of the Sikhs was in reality destroyed. Sham Singh, Dhupal Singh, Hera Singh, Kishen Singh, Mobaruck Ali, Newaz Khan - all their bravest Sirdars and leaders had perished. The discomfited warriors who survived, being left to themselves, began to disperse. Our army quietly crossed the river, and took undisputed possession of Kussoor, which, in former times, had twice defied the power of Runjeet Singh. On February 14th, the Governor-General announced by proclamation, dated from Kussoor, that the British army had crossed the Sutlej and entered the Punjab, "in accordance with the intentions expressed in the proclamation of December 13th last, as having been forced upon him for the purpose of effectually protecting the British provinces, and vindicating the authority of the British Government, and punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace."

The Government of Lahore paid, as an indemnity for expense of the war, about one million sterling. The Jullunder Doab, the district between the Beas and Sutlej, was confiscated and proclaimed British territory. All the guns we had taken were to be retained, and all those which the Sikhs had ever directed against the British were to be given up, and the Sikh army was to dismiss and break up for ever and a day.

This Punjab war is remarkable for the fact that it was the cheapest and shortest ever waged. It cost the British Government about 2,000,000, and lasted only sixty days. An indemnity of £ 1,500,000 from the Lahore Durbar and Ghoolab Singh resulted, with a net annual revenue from confiscated territory of £ 500,000. But these things could never be so valuable to us as the whole-hearted loyalty and bravery of the gallant Sikh himself, who to-day fights as nobly and fiercely by our side as in the old "forties" he strove against us. And if in those days, to our cost as well as our admiration, we learned the meaning of the "Pride of the Punjab," we shall soon be able to appreciate it from a different standpoint.

The Ballad of Larn Barn of the Kullu Nagar Tract¹

(Recorded by MR. C. H. DONALD : edited by REV. T. GRAHAME BAILEY)*

Listen to the tale of Barn.² Larn and Barn consulted³ together on the heights of Sikandar.⁴

They distributed topas of gunpowder together with handfuls⁵ of firewood. Listen to the tale of fighting.

Oh, upon the heights of Dalla, people,⁶

Listen to the tale of Barn.

With shiverings and shakings Bhagsu (Dharmsala) trembled, all Nurpur trembled.

Listen to the tale of Barn.

When he came from Naggar to Kangra district, all orders were merciful (narm).

He gave jagirs to the Rajas.

* *Journal of Punjab Historical Society*, Lahore. Vol. VIII-1 (1920), pp. 10-11.

1. The context makes it clear that Barn refers to G. C. Barnes, Settlement Officer of Kangra. It is doubtful whether Larn refers to John Lawrence. Where the two names occur together it may be introduced for the sake of the jingle. If so, in the second line an equally good translation would be :
Barnes held a consultation (with the local people).
In fact it is most unlikely that Barnes and Lawrence ever met on the Sikundur range.
2. See the performance or joke of B.
3. The diglot expression *kaunsal karna* is used by the most illiterate in the remotest parts, and hence its use casts no doubt on the authenticity of the ballad.
4. Sikandar di Dhar is a range in Mandi State, just south of the narrow strip of British territory which connects Kangra Proper with Kullu.
5. *Lapp* for *lapp*, handful. *Bondi* should be *bandi*. The Copy is obviously very carelessly recorded.
6. This refers to the defeat of Ram Singh on the heights of Dalla between the Ravi and Chakki rivers. Mr. Barnes had been posted to the district in February 1847 and was present at Dallat in January 1849.

He maintained the muafis of the god.
Praise to Larn Barn Sahib.

He took the records from Lehna Singh. He assessed the whole of Kullu.

To those who had possession he distributed places.⁷

Listen to the tale of Barn.

Pritam Singh gave leases of land, Barn Sahib maintained them.

Larn was made organiser, Barn the supervisor.⁸

Listen to the tale of Barn.

The people of Kullu thundered forth : "praise, praise to you sahibs."

He gave rest in all the country of Kullu.

Listen to the tale of Barn.

The drums rolled on the heights of Dalla, the side-drums rattled in the centre.⁹ The few Gurkhas cleared out, the English came in.¹⁰

Listen to the tale of Larn Barn.

Transliteration of Persian Letters : corrections inserted in brackets :

*Roam printed as pronounced in Kangra.*¹

Git Larn Barn Sahb Bahadar alaka Kullu Naggar.

Dekho tamasha Barn ka, Larne Barne ka'unsal kiya, kiya Sikandardk dhar,

Tope tope daru bandea, Jamp (lapp) bhar bondi (bandi) sakheria (sakaria)² : dekho tamasha larne da.

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7. Shashan refers to land granted free by a Raja.
 8. The words Intizaman and Mohtamim were probably both new to the local people and could not be replaced by local words.
 9. This part is imported wholesale from the ballad of Ram Singh's rebellion.
 10. No Gurkhas were engaged in the Dalla action; the Ms. is doubtful: *aune paune*, few; *rote*, Pote, weeping.
 1. All through both ballads plural and singular confused, nasal vowels used for non-nasal.
 2. Sakria—Punjabi sakk or sakkre, small chips of wood, or little bits for burning.

Are (area) dia (omit) Dalla dia dhara, loko, dekho tamasha Barn ka:
Tharar tharar (thar thar) Bhagsu kammea (kamhea).

Nurpur kammea (kamhea) sara, loko; dekho ... jab aea Tikkar
(perhaps Naggar) se zila Kangra hukam narm sare.

Raje ko jagria (jagira) di, deote ki maufi bahal sari, dhan dhan
Sahb Larn Barn ki.

Laihna Singh se kagaz liye, mamla kiya Kullu sare ka:
jiske raihe hasal (hasal) shashan (shasan) jhiule³ bandi dive sare,
dekho.

Pritam Singh patte diya. Bahal rakkhe sahib Barn ne.
Larn rahaea⁴ intazaman, Barn mohtamam, dekho ... Kullu ki raiat
garj rehi dhan dhan teri Sahbo, sukhh diva dunya sari Kullu, dekho ...

Dalle di dhar par daphre bajde (wajjde), wicc wicc (wajje)
tumbur loke tote pote (aune paune) Gorkhie cal diye, wicc calle
Angrez, loko, dekho....

3. Jhiula, place.

4. Rahaea, causal of raihna, remain.

The Koh-i-Noor, To Whom Does It Belong ?

A Letter to the Rt. Hon'ble Sir John Hobhouse, Bart. M.P.

JOHN SULLIVAN

Brighton,
July, 1850.

Sir,

By to-day's "Times" I see that the great Diamond, the Koh-i-Noor, or "Mountain of Light," has been brought to this country, and that it is in contemplation to present it to Her Majesty. It will be literally "the brightest jewel" in her crown, and will aptly symbolize that great empire of which she is the head; but before you recommend Her Majesty to place it there, it may be prudent to ascertain whose property it is.

This precious gem was the property of Dhuleep Singh, the young Rajah of Lahore, with whom, on the 29th July, 1846, we concluded a Treaty of "perpetual peace and friendship," but from whom on the 29th March, 1849, we took his territory, declaring it henceforth to be a portion "of the British Empire in India." What then had the young Rajah done in this short interval to bring down such a heavy visitation upon him ?

The Governor-General says¹ that "the Sikh people and their chiefs had grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound; that of their annual tribute no portion whatever had at any time been paid; that large sums advanced to them by the Government of India had never been repaid; that the control of the British Government to which they voluntarily submitted themselves had been resisted by arms; that peace had been cast aside, British officers had been murdered; that the army of the state and the whole of the Sikh people, joined by many of the Sirdars in the Punjab, led by a member of the Regency had risen in arms against us, and had waged a fierce and obstinate war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power."

¹ *Governor-General's Proclamation, March 29, 1849, Punjab Papers, p. 654.*

This is the Governor-General's bill of indictment against the Sikh chiefs and people. Before we return it as a true bill, let us examine the process by which he fixes the responsibility of these misdoings upon the young Rajah.

"It has been objected," says His Lordship, "that the¹ present dynasty in the Punjab cannot with justice be subverted, since Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, being yet a minor, can hardly be held responsible for the acts of the nation. With deference to those by whom these views have been entertained, I must dissent entirely from the soundness of this doctrine. It is, I venture to think, altogether untenable as a principle; it has been disregarded heretofore, in practice and disregarded in the case of the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh himself.

"When, in 1845, the Khalsa army invaded our territories, the Maharajah was not held to be free from responsibility, nor was he exempted from the consequences of his people's acts. On the contrary, the Government of India confiscated to itself the richest provinces of the Maharajah's kingdom, and was applauded for the moderation which had exacted no more. The Maharajah was made to tender his submission to the Governor-General in person; and it was not until he had done so that the clemency of the British Government was extended to him, and his Government restored. Furthermore, the Maharajah having been made to pay the penalty of the past offences of his people, due warning was given him that he would be held, in like manner, responsible for their future acts. The Maharajah, in reply, acknowledging this warning, says, 'If in consequence of the recurrence of misrule in my Government, the peace of the British frontier be disturbed, I should be held responsible for the same.'

"If the Maharajah was not exempted from responsibility on the plea of his tender years, at the age of eight, he cannot, on that plea, be entitled to exemption from a like responsibility, now that he is three years older.

"As the Honourable Company most fully approved of his being

1 *Punjab Papers*, p. 663.

2 *Ibid.* 16.

deprived of the fairest provinces of his kingdom, in consequence of the misdeeds of his people, in 1846, it cannot, on the same principle, condemn his being subjected now to the consequences of whatever measures the repeated and aggravated misdeeds of his people may have rendered indispensably necessary for the safety of British interests."

It is really surprising that the Governor-General should not, while penning these paragraphs, have detected the flaw in his own argument. In 1845 Lahore was an independent state, and Dhuleep Singh was the responsible sovereign of that state, and, though a minor, justly visited for the misdeeds of his army, because his affairs were then in the hands of his natural guardians, his mother was regent, and her advisers his near relations. It was owing to their treachery, weakness, or malice, that the Khalsa army invaded the British territory in 1845; but when the insurrection broke out in 1848, the whole Government of his state was, and had been upwards of a year in the hands of the Governor-General, who was at once regent of his kingdom, and sole guardian of his person and property.

Let the Governor-General describe¹ his own position at Lahore. "The Treaty (of Byrowal) gives to the Government of India, as represented at Lahore by its Resident, full power, to direct and control all matters in every department of the State...It is politic that the Resident should carry the native Council with him, the members of which are however entirely under his control and guidance, he can change them and appoint others, and in military affairs his power is as unlimited as in the civil administration, he can withdraw Sikh garrisons, replacing them by British troops, in any, and every part of the Punjab.

"On the whole,"² says the Resident, "the Durbar (i.e. the Council of Regency) give me as much support as I can reasonably expect; there has been a quiet struggle for mastery, but as though I am polite to all, I allow nothing that appears to me wrong to pass unnoticed, the members of the Council are gradually falling into

¹ *Punjab Blue Book*, p. 18.

² *Blue Book*, p. 32.

the proper train, and refer most questions to me, and in words at least allow, more fully even than I wish, that they are only executive officers,—to do as they are bid.”

Here we have an ample acknowledgment that all the powers of the Lahore State, civil and military, were in the hands of the Governor-General, and of his agents, and that the so-called “Council of Regency,” in which the Governor-General asserted that he had “maintained the Government of the State,” was merely a puppet in their hands, removeable at pleasure, and maintained only to do their bidding. But it was not merely unlimited political power that was conferred upon the Governor-General by the Treaty of December, 1846, the same Treaty, according to the construction put upon it by the Governor-General, constituted him sole guardian of the person and property of the infant Rajah Dhuleep Sing, and we find him frequently exercising the functions of Guardian, and appealing to the Treaty as his warrant for so doing. In assigning his reasons for the removal of the Rajah’s mother from Lahore, the Governor-General says,* “It became the duty of the Governor-General, therefore, in his capacity of guardian to the young prince, during his minority, to allow him no longer to remain in the Zenana and to remove him from the danger of the debasing influence of such a mother. I have desired that in all public acts relating to Her Highness’ separation from her son, the manner taken may be proclaimed to have been ordered by my authority, exercised for the benefit of the Prince, and the state, under the *unlimited powers* which the Governor-General possesses by the Treaty of Byrowal.” So complete indeed were the Governor-General’s powers under that Treaty, that he might have asserted with more truth than was said by Louis XIV, or Napoleon, “L’Etat c’est moi.”

Nor let it be supposed, that this power was usually in abeyance, and only to be called into exercise upon great occasions, every page of the “Blue Book,” shews that the Resident was the moving power in every department of the State.

Hardly was he warm in his seat, when we find him conferring titles upon all whom he delighted to honour† issuing orders for

**Blue Book*, p. 35.

†*Blue Book*, pp. 20, 21, 28, 29, 35, 82, 83.

the re-settlement of the revenue—the reform of the customs—the formation of a distinct system of judicature in which the functions of the Court of last resort were to be vested in himself,—we find him busily engaged in re-organising the army, disbanding and enlisting troops—promoting some officers, dismissing others—demolishing old forts, constructing new ones—and in utter distrust of the honesty of the native authorities, *actually paying the troops with his own hands*. In the full swing in short of that despotic authority over every branch of that administration which belonged to him, as the representative of the British Government.

Generally speaking, the Council of Regency “did as it was bid,” and without remonstrance, but when it was proposed by the Resident, to transport the mother of the Rajah beyond the limits of the Lahore State, there was a demur, to which the Resident graciously yielded. Not so, when the young Prince, with a spirit which is worthy of all praise, flatly refused to be made the medium of conferring the title of Rajah upon the Sirdar Tej Singh, whom all Lahore abhorred as a traitor, when the Resident actually deprived him of his prerogative as a sovereign, and vested that prerogative in a priest, who, it was conveniently discovered, was just as well entitled to perform the ceremony as the Rajah himself.

This scene is so graphically painted by the Resident himself, that I cannot avoid transcribing the passage:¹

“The ceremonies were performed in the great hall of the Tukhtgah, or place of the throne of the Delhi Kings, which was beautifully fitted upon for the occasion. All went off well, except for a momentary check, occasioned by the decided refusal of the Maharajah, to make the saffron ‘teeka’ or mark of Rajahship, on Sirdar Tej Singh’s forehead. At first, I thought it might be bashfulness, or a dislike to wet his fingers with the saffron paste; but when I pressed the point in vain, and, on Sirdar Shere Singh’s leaning forward, and begging the Maharajah to comply, his Highness folded his arms, and shrunk back into his velvet chair, with a determination foreign to both his age and gentle disposition, the truth at once

¹ *Blue Book*, p. 36.

flashed across my mind, and I called upon Bhaee Nidhan Singh, the head of the Sikh religion, and Member of the Council, to officiate, which he did, with a prompt alacrity, which prevented the *contretemps* from being observed by any but a very few of the principal chiefs around the Maharajah. The circumstance, however, is just of that nature to be deemed important by natives, and, doubtless, it will soon be widely spread, and discussed, throughout the country. Priests as often officiate in these portions of Hindoo ceremonies as the secular head of the State, and had the chiefs at first arranged that Bhaee Nidhan Singh should apply the 'teeka,' it would have caused no remark, and all would have been well. As it was, the chiefs were as much surprised as we were, for the Maharajah (who is always courteous and good humoured) had, for a full hour before been even more than usually affable, and had been sending for singing-birds and pictures from his play-room, to shew us; and, on my questioning him, told me the names of every tree, building, &c. in a landscape. I had, indeed, just observed to my assistants, and Brigadier Campbell, that his Highness evinced more intelligence than most English children of equal age would do."

With these incontestable proofs before us, that the Governor-General, from the conclusion of the Treaty of Byrowal, in December, 1846, exercised despotic sway in Lahore through his agents, what shall we think of his attempt to assimilate Dhuleep Sing's position, in 1845, when the Governor-General had no power in that State, with his position in 1848, when the whole power had passed into his hands, and with what show of justice could the *Gaurdian*, confiscate the dominions and diamonds of the ward to his own use, for events, which it will be easy to prove, were brought about by the acts of those agents?

But before we enter on that task, it will be advisable to examine the charges which the Governor-General brought against the body, which is sometimes called the "State of Lahore," sometimes the "Council of Regency," more frequently "the Durbar."

"Of their annual tribute, no portion whatever," said the Governor-General, "has at any time been paid, and large loans advanced them by the "British Government have never been repaid."

Firstly, Is it true that the Lahore State had failed to discharge any portion of its debt to the British Government; secondly, if there was a default was the default wilful; thirdly, if the default was wilful, who was to blame ?

“The Durbar has paid into this treasury,” says his agent, “gold to the value of rupees, 13,56,837...They have reduced their debt to the British Government, from upwards of forty lacks of rupees, to less than twenty-seven.”¹

It was not true, then, by the Governor-General’s own shewing, that no portion of the large debt due to the British Government had been paid.

“I found the treasury,” says the Governor-General’s agent,² “empty, the troops in arrears, want of money is my excuse for these arrears—I have reduced establishments and troops to the amount of nearly thirty lacs of rupees per annum, including not less than 7000 regular and irregular cavalry, who, on an average, were not less than fifteen months in arrears, and nearly twice as many infantry, to whom little less was due. Deficiency of cash, as I said before, and entire want of public credit, have tied my hands; indeed, but for the loan of seven lacs of rupees granted by our Government, I do not know what I could have done.

“Estimating the debt of the Durbar for the last years at nine lacs, the amount will stand at the end of the present year, leaving a balance of rupees 13,95, 265, which I fear cannot be paid off under a year and a half, exclusive of the twenty-two lacs subsidy yearly.

“The finances are certainly not in a prosperous condition...and much has been done since last year in the reform and reduction of the army, the payment of their arrears,...but I cannot fail also to observe that there are still no ordinary difficulties to be encountered and overcome.

“In all probability,” says the Governor-General,³ “the revenue of the entire kingdom of the Punjab derived from land, cannot be estimated, even for future years, at a higher sum than a million and a half sterling; and the inference to be drawn from the data collected

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1. *Blue Book*, page 91.
 2. *Blue Book*, p. 23.
 3. P. 85.

is this, that on the *most economical estimate* of the civil and military administration of the country, the expense of its occupation would exceed the revenue by more than a million and a half sterling. The finances", says his agent,¹ in another place, "are still in a very unsatisfactory state; it is the one great difficulty which now remains. We are practising as much economy as possible. Not a rupee is paid away but in an order countersigned by the Resident still in the exhausted state of the treasury it is with the greatest difficulty that the Durbar can meet its demands. The income will, I fear, inevitably fall short of the expenditure. The Durbar has, by economy and care, been able to make good four months' pay of the irregular cavalry, to discharge the whole of the arrears of the men who have been paraded and disbanded. To meet their current expenses I have still at this moment full eight lacs of rupees in the different treasuries to meet the public exigencies. During the last year it has been one unceasing course of reduction in every department."

We have here overwhelming proof that if there was any failure on the part of the Lahore Government to fulfil its pecuniary engagements, the default was not wilful. Every effort had been made, by reduction of establishments and observance of the strictest economy, to relieve the state from financial embarrassments.

But if the default had been wilful, if having the means that Government had failed to make good its payments, who ought to have been made responsible, the *Ward*? or his *Guardian*, who had the exclusive control over his finances, and whose first act it was, in the face of an empty treasury, to reduce his revenue?

"The finances of the Lahore Durbar are," said his agent, "certainly not in a prosperous condition. By the returns lately submitted to the Governor-General, there is a surplus of twenty-nine lacs and upwards, but out of this sum the annual comutation, payable to the British Government, and the extra expenses, consequent on the new system of paying counsellors, adawluttees, and nazims must be defrayed. A reform of the customs as well as the land-tax, all absolutely necessary, will probably not involve a sacrifice of less than from twelve to fifteen lacs of rupees."²

1. P. 93.

2. *Blue Book*, p. 7.

Here we have increased expenses in the face of an actual deficit, and a prospective reduction of revenue.

Every one who has had experience of revenue affairs in India knows that nothing is more dangerous than to tamper with the revenue; that it is much easier to reduce than to reimpose; that no alteration therefore should be attempted in any existing system but upon the most mature information and by the most experienced agents.

In what time then, and by what instruments, was the arduous task of re-assessing Dhuleep Singh's revenue accomplished? The settlement, we are told, was effected in the short space of three months, and by officers who, as the Resident himself says, "had with few exception scarcely any experience of revenue matters; some were altogether ignorant, none had any knowledge of local usages and accounts." It was by these very competent agents that this arduous work was exclusively done. The "Dürbar," we are told, "was averse to its introduction, but 'yielded, as they always do,' and contented themselves, with the exception of Rajah Deena Nath, with standing aloof from its execution, leaving the whole matter to the Resident and his assistants."¹

He (Rajah Deena Nath) sees the financial embarrassments of the state, and feels that the more we interfere with details, especially where the revenue is concerned, the less will be the Durbar's responsibility, for financial difficulties and deficiencies.²

This was the care that was taken by the *guardian* of the financial interests of his ward; and the agents employed in introducing the new system of judicature, were "the young and inexperienced officers" who were the Resident's assistants, and who had most of them to learn ere they can become teachers.³

"The effect of these measure," he says, "has doubtless been, to transfer the administration of the country from the hands of the

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1. *Blue Book*, p. 128
 2. *Ibid.*
 3. *Blue Book*, p. 128

Durbar to our own, to a much greater extent than was contemplated when the introduction of the new arrangements was first determined on, and the conduct of all details, even the most minute in all departments, except that of account, devolves now on the Resident and his subordinates.”¹

And yet in the face of this avowal, the Governor-General actually made it a boast, that he had scrupulously observed his engagements by maintaining “the Government of the State in the Council of Regency.”

The next count in the Governor-General's indictment is, that “the Government of Lahore, in reply to the orders of the Resident, neither punished the murderers of Messrs. Agnew and Anderson, or gave reparation for the offence.” But the Government of Lahore was, as we have seen, in the hands of the Governor-General and his agents; and how—in the name of common sense we ask the question—how was it possible for that Government to punish the murderers, who were safely ensconced in Mooltan, that fortress having been hermetically sealed the moment after the murder was committed, and the actual murderers not having been within the reach of any authority until after its capture ?

But whose special duty was it to have punished the murderers, if punishment at the moment was possible ?

Article 7 of the Treaty concluded by the British with the Lahore Government, on the 16th Dec. 1846, runs thus :—

“A British force, of such strength and numbers, and in such positions as they may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharajah, and the preservation of *the peace of the country*;” and for the support of this force, the Lahore State agreed to pay the British Government twenty-two lacs of rupees a year, and the Governor-General was authorized to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post which he might deem necessary for the security of the capital, and for maintaining the peace of the country.

The murder of Messrs Agnew and Anderson was the signal

1. P. 127.

for a serious rebellion against the authority of the Maharajah, "in which the Dewan Moolraj became the principal actor."

"Dewan Moolraj," said the Resident,¹ "is an officer of the Sikh Government : he is in rebellion, if in rebellion at all, to the Sikh Durbar, and the orders of that Government.

"The crimes and offences of Dewan Moolraj—the former Nazim of Mooltan—his rebellion against the Government of *Maharajah Dhuleep Sing*, his treacherous murder of the British officers, and his schemes and plots for the subversion of *the Khalsa Government*, are matters of notoriety."

Here was a most serious disturbance of the peace of the Maharajah's dominions, for the maintenance of which the Governor-General was pledged and paid. How did he fulfil this obligation ?

"We are fully sensible," he says,² "how important it is that this rebellion against the *State of Lahore* should be *forthwith repressed*, and that the insult offered, and the treachery shewen to the British power should be followed by early and signal punishment. We have, therefore, determined on exacting ample reparation from the *State of Lahore* for the insult offered, and the deep injury inflicted on your Government in the base murder of your faithful servants through the treachery, desertion, and crime of the servants of the Maharajah of Lahore."

Here we have the Governor-General avowing his determination—not in fulfilment of the engagement which he had made, to employ the force which was stationed at Lahore for the express purpose of maintaining the peace of the Maharajah's dominions, in putting down the rebellion, but to "exact reparation" from the "State of Lahore" for a rebellion raised "against the State of Lahore," and to punish the infant Rajah for a rebellion raised by his servants against himself, as well as against his ally, with whom he was so completely identified, that a few pages onwards³ we find it stated that Dewan Moolraj is now in open rebellion against the British Government.

1. *Blue Book*, p. 133.

2. *Blue Book*, p. 121.

3. *Blue Book*, p. 13.

Instead of employing that force in restoring peace to the territory of his ally, the Resident had avowed his determination to leave the impracticable task of taking Mooltan to the Sikh troops alone.

“The coercion,” he says,¹ “must come from the Sikh Government, *unaided by British troops* if possible ... I could not consent, under any circumstances, to send a British force on any such expedition.” No; although bound by solemn treaty, and paid for this very duty—“if it should be necessary to move a British soldier, the affair will be a serious one for the Durbar.” And this, notwithstanding the frank avowal which the Resident tells us was made by the Durbar, that they were unable, “without British aid, to coerce the Dewan Moolraj in Mooltan.” “After what has happened, I feel that, if the question were one merely affecting the maintenance of the Sikh Government, and the preserving the tranquility of their provinces, that we should be scarcely justified in expending more British blood, and British treasure.” And this, although the British troops were stationed under treaty in Lahore, for the express purpose of maintaining the Sikh Government, and preserving the tranquility of their provinces,” with an avowal at the same time that the “Mooltan garrison was prepared to submit to a British demonstration, but not to yield to a Sikh one;”² and an admission, “that without such a demonstration, there was little or no hope of success.”³

It was not, indeed, until the Resident became convinced that the peace of the frontier, and perhaps of much more than the frontier, or than the Punjab,”⁴ depended upon the measure, that he resolved to put the British troops in motion against Mooltan.

Under these circumstances, what shall we think of the Governor General’s charge against the Government of Lahore, that it had failed to punish the murderers of Mr. Agnew, and his avowal *at the time* of a determination to exact ample reparation from that

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1. P. 133
 2. *Blue Book*, p. 159.
 3. *Ibid.*
 4. P. 137.

Government for crimes committed against itself? "For this army"—that is, the British army — "will not return to its cantonments till ...till "condign punishment is inflicted on the rebels to the Maharajah's Government."

As the British Government was bound by treaty to preserve the tranquility of the Rajah of Lahore's dominions, so it is bound by treaty to maintain peace in the territory of the King of Oude. We have lately seen that an officer of that state had broken out into rebellion against his sovereign, and seized upon one of its forts, just as Moolraj seized upon Mooltan, and rebelled against Dhuleep Singh. In fulfilment of our obligations, we sent a force to assist our ally; and if the officer who fell in the execution of that duty had been treacherously murdered by the rebels, or if the troops of Oude had joined the rebels, should we have thought of exacting reparation from the King for these crimes of his subjects ?

But the reparation to be exacted from the Government of Lahore, was, as the Governor-General tells us, to depend on the manner in which that State¹ "should be found to have observed its obligations towards the British Government."

The Governor-General informs us that,² "it was uncertain whether the outbreak in Mooltan originated in a pre-concerted plan, or whether it was to be traced to the irritated feelings with which the Mooltan soldiers saw a British officer come among them, and receive possession of their fort, with the object of changing the whole system of administration under which they were living, and of giving them a new master, acting under the advice, and subject to the immediate control, of the British authorities." We have seen that this revolution in the whole system of administration was the exclusive work of the Governor-General's agents, and carried out against the wishes and opinions of the "Government of Lahore".

What, then, was the conduct of that Government when apprised of this outbreak ? "The Durbar," the Resident tells us,³ "were

1 *Blue Book*, p. 148

2 P. 117.

3 *Blue Book*, p. 33.

evidently one and all most vexed and troubled at this affair. The Members of the Council all came to me within an hour of the news being received, and are most desirous to do anything I might direct, collectively and individually, to meet the emergency."

This was the Resident's account of their feeling and conduct in April; but in June he speaks of them as merely acquiescing in the measures he was pursuing—as deficient in "zeal, emergy, and judgment."¹ "In July, however, a great change", he says, "had come over the spirit of the Durbar; they have been making the most decided and very successful exertions to procure carriage of every description for the use of the British troops."

Up to this time, then, the "Government of Lahore" had faithfully observed their obligations to the British Government. And what was the conduct of other of the servants of the Maharajah? Many of the Chiefs of the greatest note, as the Resident informs us,² had "the deepest stake in the preservation of the existing order of things". The commandant of the irregular horse that accompanied Mr. Agnew, took the first opportunity to quit Mooltan with his troops, and to join the Resident at Lahore.³

The Sirdars in Rajah Shere Singh's army, were, heart and soul, on our side⁴, the chief Zemindars in Maharajghur Ahmedpoore, and Rungpore had been "fighting like Britons on our side."

The chief Zemindars of Mittunkote had written to offer to rise and expel Moolraj Kardar from that district, where he had assembled some 300 or 400 men."

"The Sooraj Mookkee regiment had by a most brilliant charge against two guns which they captured in a style which, as Lieut. Edwardes tells us, British troops alone could excel." And so satisfied was the Resident with the conduct of that portion of the Sikh army, that was on service with Lieut. Edwardes, that he caused a proclamation to be issued, in which he spoke of the conduct and the

1 P. 187.

2 *Blue Book*, p. 137

3 P. 146.

4 P. 254.

services of those corps in the highest terms.¹

The Mahomedan, that is, the largest portion of the population of the Punjab, is stated to have been staunch in its allegiance, and filled with bitter hatred against the Sikh soldiery and the Sikh people.

These particulars are needed to shew, that although a large number of the Sikh troops was in rebellion to its Sovereign, yet that most of the officers, the chiefs of greatest note, united with the Durbar in faithfully observing its obligations to the British Government.

We pass now to the third and last count of the Governor-General's indictment against the "Government of Lahore." "Finally (he says), the army of the State, and the whole of the Sikh people, joined by many of the Sirdars in the Punjab, who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the Regency itself, have risen in arms against us, and have waged a fierce and bloody war, for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power."

It was when Moolraj's case had become desperate, when he had been deserted by almost all his troops, and when the Resident was in daily expectation of hearing either of his surrender, or of his self-destruction, that a fresh insurrection burst forth, which was headed by Sirdar Chuttur Singh.

By the energetic measures, and skilful strategy of Major Edwardes, Moolraj, and his force, had been driven within the walls of Mooltan, and reduced to such extremities, that the Resident, only a few days before tidings of Chuttur Singh's outbreak reached him, had announced his expectation that the rebel Moolraj would either destroy himself or be destroyed by his troops before the next mail goes out."²

Who then was Chuttur Singh, and what were his prospects, that he should have chosen such a moment for raising the standard of insurrection against his Sovereign? He was, as the Resident tells us,

1. P. 241.

2. *Blue Book*, P. 198

“old and infirm¹ father-in-law elect of the Maharajah, whose accumulated wealth, and honourable position, gave him *a greater Stake than any other man in maintaining the existing order of things in the Punjab.*” He was placed in the midst of a hostile Mahomedan population,² who were filled with bitter hostility against him, and against every one, who bore the name of Sikh.” He was so hemmed in by this population, that the troops in the neighbouring garrisons were unable to join him. He was hundreds of miles from Mooltan, unable to communicate either with Moolraj, or with his own son Shere Sing, who was at the head of a force then employed in the blockade of Mooltan, and the whole force at his command, when the outbreak commenced, consisted of two or three regiments.

What then could have induced a man so circumstanced, at the moment when preparations were actually making for the celebration of his daughter’s marriage with his Sovereign, to endeavour to pull down that which he had the greatest interest in maintaining? Let the two Residents in succession answer the question.

Chuttur Singh was Governor of the province of Hazara, and Captain Abbott had been appointed to assist and advise him in the execution of that duty. “Captain Abbott (says Colonel Lawrence)³ is an excellent officer; but he is too apt to take gloomy views of questions. I think that he has unwillingly done Dewan Jhunda Singh injustice, and all that I have heard of the Dewan, from Mr. Agnew and Captain Abbott, does not alter my opinion of him. I only know one better native, according to the light he has enjoyed, the times he lived in, and the school he was brought up in. He is a respectable, as he assuredly is an able man.”

“His Lordship, (says Sir J. Currie when addressing the Governor-General),⁴ will have observed a very ready disposition on the part of Captain Abbott to believe the reports that are brought to him of conspiracies, treasons, and plots, suspicion of every body, far and

1. P. 279.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Blue Book*, p. 30

4. P. 285,

near, even of his own servants, and a conviction of the infallibility of his own conclusions, which is not shaken by finding time after time that they are not verified,"

"Sirdar¹ Jhunda Singh was appointed by the former Resident, Deputy Governor of Hazara, where he was described to me to have *done excellent service, for which he was, on many occasions, highly praised by Cap. Abbott.*"

"When it was determined to send a force of Durbar troops, the most trustworthy that could be found, in the commencement of May last, down the Sind Sagur Doab, to aid in the scheme for drawing a wide cordon round Mooltan, Sirdar Jhunda Sing was the officer selected by the Durbar to command the force, as one in whom they could place reliance. *Capt. Abbott, on the occasion, wrote in high terms of the Sirdar as an intelligent, zealous, and faithful officer.*"

"Soon after the defection of a portion of the Churrenjeet regiment of horse, which formed a part of Sirdar Jhunda Singh's brigade (on which occasion the Sirdar's conduct *was open to no sort of suspicion*), Capt. Abbott wrote of Jhunda Singh, as one *connected with the extensive band of conspirators* whom he considered as leagued to aid the Mooltan rebellion."

In support of his opinion, Capt. Abbott adduced the supposed disobedience of Sirdar Jhunda Sing to Lieutenant Edwardes's orders, and his mutinous march in a prohibited direction. Upon that occasion, I explained to Capt. Abbott, that if his opinion of Sirdar Jhunda Sing's disaffection rested on the facts he had mentioned, *it was without due foundation*; for that the Sirdar had closely and scrupulously obeyed my orders in every step he had taken after leaving Hazara; and that he had never received any instructions from Lieutenant Edwardes at all. I praised his subordination, and ready obedience, which was somewhat put to the test, for I marched him and his brigade to within thirty-five miles of Mooltan, and ordered it back to Lahore, just after Rajah Shere Sing's force (of which it was to have formed a part) had reached that place, and operations,

1. P. 328.

wherein credit and honour might be obtained, were about to be commenced."

"Capt. Abbott expressed himself pleased at this refutation of the reports of the Sirdar's disobedience and misconduct, of whose character he had till he left him, entertained a high opinion."

Here we have proof of Captain Abbott's disposition to believe reports to the prejudice of "every body; for and near." He was a ready recipient for every idle tale that might be invented, and unfortunately he was in a locality where such tales were sure to be invented against a Sikh—viz. in Hazara—in the midst of a Mahomedan population, who entertained a bitter hostility to all who bore that name. His conduct to his colleague in office, Chuttur Singh, had been such, as to shew how prepared he was to listen to any thing that might be said to his prejudice.

"I cannot approve (said the Resident),¹ of your having abstained from communication with the Nazim on the state of his administration, for the purpose of making his silence or otherwise on the subject, a test whereby his guilt or innocence was to be determined by you. You had already withdrawn your office from the seat of Government, and had ceased all personal communication with the Nazim, and had told the Nazim's Vakeel that you had no confidence in his master."

The Resident had warned Captain Abbott against the course which he was pursuing towards his colleague. "I had warned him of the dangers of calling up an armed population in aid of the civil power."²

"It is evident to me³ that Capt. Abbott was being practised upon by parties—for what purpose I know not—who were exaggerating existing dangers, and fixing the authorship of treacherous proceedings on persons unconnected therewith.

"The constant suspicion with which Captain Abbott regarded Chuttur Singh seems not unnaturally to have estranged the chief from him.

1. *Blue Book*, p.316.

2. *Blue Book*, p. 279.

3. *Ibid.*

“This state of feeling seems to have been taken advantage of by persons interested in widening the breach between the two—till Capt. Abbott looks upon Sirdar Chuttur Singh, as a sort of incarnation of treason, and the Sirdar has been led to believe that Capt. Abbott is bent upon the annihilation of himself, and of the Khalsa army in Hazara on the first opportunity.”

But all these warnings were vain, and Capt. Abbott soon gave Chuttur Singh practical proof that he was indeed bent upon the annihilation of himself and his army; for he suddenly raised the Mahomedan population of Hazara, surrounded his residence with the avowed intention of availing himself of the deadly hostility of that population for their destruction,

This hostile movement of Captain Abbott's induced Chuttur Singh, in self-defence, to draw the detachment of troops, which was stationed for the protection of the town of Hurripore, and to encamp them with their guns in an open space between the town and the fort.

“Commedan Canora,¹ an officer in the Sikh artillery, refused to obey the Siadar's orders unless backed by Captain Abbott, the Sirdar repeated his orders, saying, that Captain Abbott could not know the peril they were in from the threatened attack of the armed population who could easily seize the guns where they were.” The Commedan refused to obey these orders, when some of the soldiers shot him. This Commedan was said to be in the interest of the Mahomedans, and when his death was known, they threatened to attack the Sikh troops at Pukli, and the whole country was thrown into immediate riot. Chuttur Singh thereupon called to his aid the troops in the neighbouring cantonments of Hussaal-dal Kurara to protect him from the armed population of Hazara, who had risen at the instigation of Captain Abbott, and from which he and his troops were in imminent peril.

This is in substance the Resident's account of the outbreak, and the following are his own comments, and the comments of his assistants upon it.

1. *Blue Book*, p. 280.

"Your statement¹ (he writes to Captain Abbott) of the disturbance in Hazara does not materially differ from that received from other quarters; nor does it differ in facts—making allowance for different statements of motives and intentions—from that given by the Sirdar Chuttur Singh, in his representations to the Durbar and letters to me."

"It is clear that, whatever may have been the intention of the Pukli brigade, no overt act of rebellion was committed by them till *the initiative was taken by you, by calling out the armed peasantry and surrounding the brigade in its cantonment*. It seems, also, that the armed peasants were threatening Hurripore, before the Nazim ordered the guns out of the town, to the open space between the fort and the city."

"The Sirdar states that this was merely a precautionary measure, in consequence of the rising of the population, the cause of which he did not know; while you state that it was for the purpose of bringing off the Pukli brigade, which was surrounded and hemmed in by your orders; of which orders the Government had no notice."

"The death of Commedan Canora is stated, both by the Sirdar and yourself, to have been occasioned in consequence of his disobedience of the reiterated orders of the Nazim, and to his having offered violent opposition to those whom the Government, after many remonstrances with the Commedan, sent to enforce his orders."

"I cannot at all agree with you as to the character you assign to this transaction. Sirdar Chuttur Singh was the Governor of the province, military and civil, and the officers of the Sikh army were bound to obey him, the responsibility for his orders resting with him. Taking the worst possible view of the case, I know not how you can characterise it as 'a cold-blooded murder, as base and cowardly as that of Peshora Singh.'"

"I do not intend, by what I have said above, to justify Sirdar Chuttur Sing—far from it—his conduct since the death of Canora has been highly culpable, and I have no doubt you had just grounds for

1. *Blue Book*, p. 313.

your suspicions of him before, and of the intentions of the Pukli brigade. Still there is no proof of misconduct before the raising of the armed population, and his plea is, that *all that he has done since, has been of a defensive character*.¹

“It will be seen² that Lieutenant Nicholson, judging from the result of inquiries made on the spot, and without any knowledge of my views, has come to the same conclusion as myself relative to the origin of the outbreak, viz., that Sirdar Chuttur Singh adopted the course he has pursued under an impression of *alarm, distrust, and suspicion* as to Captain Abbott’s purposes in raising the Mahomedan population. I have³ already mentioned, that I attribute Sirdar Chuttur Sing’s behaviour, in the first instance, to his distrust of Captain Abbott’s intentions, which was excited by the assemblage, by that officer, of a body of Moolkias, to overawe the Sikh troops in Pukli, who, he had reason to believe, meditated marching to Lahore.”

“This distrust was further, unfortunately, increased by the reports of designing parties on both sides, who, for the furtherance of their own interests, endeavoured to create disunion between Captain Abbott and the Sirdar.”...

Notwithstanding the unanimous opinion of the authorities, that Chuttur Singh had been forced into a hostile attitude by Captain Abbott’s unwarrantable proceedings, and that what was “culpable” in his conduct had arisen from “terror and anxiety,”⁴ and distrust of that officer’s ultimate intentions; yet, strange to say, they came to a determination to punish the Sirdar for what he had done, with loss of estate and of office.

The Resident, on the 19th of August, had come to a determination “fairly to investigate the matter;” but on the 20th, his assistant, Lieutenant Nicholson, wrote to him as follows:—

“Considering how extremely desirable it is that matters should, if possible, be peaceably arranged; believing, also, that the Sirdar’s

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1. *Blue Book*, p. 313.
 2. P. 286.
 3. *Blue Book*, p. 308.
 4. P. 308.

conduct, of late, though heinous in many respects, *had its origin in fear*, I have taken upon myself the responsibility of offering him the following terms, which, whether he accept (as Jhunda Singh seems to think he will) or not, I hope will meet your approval, viz.—

“That if the Sirdar, immediately, come in to me, and send back the troops to their posts, I guarantee his life and izzut being spared; *but I neither guarantee his Nazimship nor his Jagheer, which, indeed, I have intimated to him he cannot expect to be allowed to retain.* Further, he is to reside in any part of the Punjab he may be desired; *and if considered advisable, he is to leave the Punjab, for a year or two, on a pilgrimage.*”¹

“All things considered, I trust you will agree with me, that the loss of the Nizamut and of his Jagheer will be a sufficient punishment, and that I have acted rightly in offering these terms.”

This severe sentence was instantly,² i.e. on the 23rd August, “confirmed and ratified” by the Resident; and, *pari passu*, with this degradation and confiscation, the Resident promised Chuttur Singh “an honourable investigation into his conduct.” “I have promised him merely life, and an honourable investigation into his conduct.”

But how could that be an “honourable investigation” which was preceded by the infliction of heavy penalties upon him who was to be the subject of it. ?

Chuttur Singh was not asked to surrender himself, upon a promise, that if the result of the investigation should be in his favour, these penalties were to be remitted, but with a certainty that, to the loss of his office, and of his Jagheer, the loss of wealth, and perhaps of liberty, would be added, if the verdict should be against him; all that was secured to him was his life. Can it be wondered, then, that he should have resolved to resist such unrighteous proceedings - that, hopeless as the attempt might be, he should have resolved rather to fight for his rights, than to submit without a struggle to be thus stripped of them? And can we wonder that his son, Shere Singh, who, up to the moment of his having heard of the sentence passed upon his father,

1. *Blue Book*, P. 295.

2. P. 297.

had been distinguished for his loyalty and zeal, should have determined to make common cause with his father? His secession was followed up by that of others, and a rebellion lighted up in the Punjab which cost us thousands of lives, and millions of money to extinguish.

“I cannot understand why he should thus persist in his rebellion, *hopeless as it appears*—hopeless as the Sirdar and troops with him must now perceive their cause to be (says Capt. Nicholson).

“The force at present with Sirdar Chuttur Singh is about 2000 regulars, with eight guns, and, perhaps, 1000 armed villagers. Without reinforcements from Peshawur or Bunnoo, this force cannot attempt to march either on Mooltan or Lahore. It could not march from its present position to Mooltan, with artillery, in less than sixteen days, by forced marches, at this season of the year; and as our heavy guns are expected in camp on the 4th and 5th, I trust the place may be in our hands at that time.”

“Neither the army beyond Hazara, nor the chiefs generally, appear to have been prepared for this move of Sirdar Chuttur Singh.”¹

“Mr. John Lawrence, in a private letter received yesterday, writing of him, says, I cannot, in any way, account for Chuttur Singh’s conduct; I always looked on him as a harmless old fool. He is, however, now very infirm, and suffers much from chronic disease. His conduct is unaccountable, except on the belief that he is acting under the advice, and with the secret support of others.”

“If Rajah Shere Singh should not join his father, supposing that rebellion to gain head, it will be very surprising—and it is equally surprising that the Sirdar should have taken this decided line, not having secured the concurrence of his son.”

So little complicity had Shere Singh with the proceedings of his father, that we find General Whish reporting² that, on the 1st of September, that Sirdar “voluntarily brought his guns into play, and enfiladed the enemy for two or three hours.” And on the 26th of September, Major Edwardes reported³ that “Nothing could have been

1. *Blue Book*, p. 333

2. P. 327.

3. P. 329.

more satisfactory than the past conduct of that Sirdar—that, since the Rajah's arrival at Mooltan, he had omitted neither persuasion, threats, or punishments, to keep his troops to their duty. He brought to light an extensive treasonable correspondence with Moolraj in his own camp, collected that evidence diligently, and when the crime was fully brought home to Soojan Singh, a Sikh Jagheerdaree horseman of some consideration and still greater notoriety, he carried the extreme sentence of the law into effect, and caused the traitor to be blown from one of his own guns. The act was extremely unpopular in the Rajah's force, and I rather think that he himself expected resistance. On the 1st September," continues Mr. Edwardes, "when my force changed ground, and was opposed by the enemy's light troops, in the jungle before Mooltan, Rajah Shere Singh, of his own account, mounted his guns on the high bank of the nullah, on our left, and assisted our movement by enfilading the rebels."

He "thought it would be a good thing to get a few men killed on both sides, so as to destroy the good understanding between his own Sikhs and those in the garrison. That he fully succeeded in this object is evident, from his having gained, in the city of Mooltan, the nick-name of 'Rajah Sheik Singh;' and the Khalsa of his own camp say, they believe he is a Mussulman after all."¹

In these statements we have irrefragable proof that, as nothing could have been further from Chuttur Singh's thoughts than insurrection against an order of things which all allow he had the deepest interest in upholding, up to the moment of Captain Abbott's hostile demonstration against him, so nothing could have been more staunch than his son's conduct up to the very moment that he became aware of the sentence of confiscation and disgrace which had been passed against his father.

When intelligence of Chuttur Singh's outbreak first reached him, Shere Singh "discussed the matter with me, (said Mr. Edwardes,)"² with great good sense, and put it to me, whether all that his father

1. *Blue Book*, p. 330.

2. *Blue Book*, p. 224.

had done to oppose the Moolkias was not perfectly natural and excusable, on the supposition that he was innocent of the plots suspected by Captain Abbott. 'No man,' he said, 'will allow himself to be killed without a struggle.'

He expected, of course, and had a right to expect, that due inquiry would be made into the conduct of both those parties, and that the party that should be found to have originated the mischief would have been punished. But on or about the 10th of September, Shere Singh had received letters¹ from his father, in which the old man, without doubt, informed him of the heavy penalties to which he had been sentenced, without any inquiry at all; and on the 14th, in a "fit of desperation and confusion", he consented to espouse the cause of his father, putting himself at the head of his troops, who were already in a state of mutiny, and marching off to Mooltan, and announcing² to his brother, Gholab Singh, that he had done so in consequence of Captain Abbott's conduct to his father, who had "treated him most unjustly, and caused him much grief and trouble, and he had also exerted himself to destroy and disperse the Khalsa troops."³

So little of concert, however, was there between the rebel chiefs, so little had this movement been anticipated by Moolraj, that an interview which took place between the Sikhs, Sirdars and officers, of Shere Singh's force,⁴ "great distrust was shewn by the "Dewan, who was attended by an overpowering escort, and the Grunth was brought in to administer oaths of sincerity to the newcomers." And so little did the mutinous troops consider Chuttur Singh as likely to be a staunch rebel, that when Shere Singh proposed to them a march to join his father, they insisted upon joining the rebels in Mooltan. So little feeling and sympathy was there between Chuttur Singh, his son, and other Sirdars of the State, that the Resident expressly reported⁵ that "many of the chiefs who would have

1 P. 343.

2 *Blue Book*, p. 358.

3 P. 359.

4 P. 360.

5 P. 349.

joined this movement, if headed by the Maharanee, will stand aloof now that it has been got up by the Sirdar Chuttur Singh; not because they hate the British troops less, but that they hate the Attarees and Gholab Singh more." Many of the Sirdars, indeed, in Shere Singh's force, made their escape, and joined Lieut. Edwardes' camp,¹ bringing the military cash-chest with them. Amongst these Sirdars, indeed, were several "Jageerdars," who were at feud, we are told, with Chuttur Singh's family, and so opposed were some of them to his movement, that one of them² "succeeded in making his escape on foot from the rebel camp, leaving behind him his tents, elephants, and property. Even on the road he was intercepted by two of the enemy, but he shot one, and the other fled;" and the adherents of the Sirdars, who had come into Major Edwardes' camp, were so numerous, "as to cause great anxiety to their neighbours." "I was nearly certain," said the Resident,³ "that the Sindanwalla Sirdars, whatever may be their feelings towards us, could never take part in an insurrection, originated and headed by one of the Attaree family, nor join a rebellion, of which a low-caste man, as Moolraj is, was the leader."

Need we further proof that this outbreak of Chuttur Singh's was an *impromptu*—that he was goaded into a hostile attitude by Captain Abbott, and rivetted in that attitude by the Resident's dealings with him? "Rajah Shere Singh's conduct," said the Resident,⁴ "has been very extraordinary, and is almost inexplicable." It was, indeed, inexplicable, upon any other than the obvious hypothesis that he had determined, at all hazards, to stand forward in defence of his ill-used father.

In these statements we have accumulated proof that this rebellion was unpremeditated—that as it was Captain Abbott's unwarrantable proceedings that first led Chuttur Singh to assume a hostile attitude, so it was the harsh sentence passed upon him by Sir F. Currie that drove him and his son Shere Singh into open rebellion.

1 *Blue Book*, p. 359

2 P. 360

3 P. 360

4 P. 36.

Upon the same testimony, we are warranted in asserting that Moolraj's outbreak was equally unpremeditated, for just "before this outbreak, Moolraj," as the Resident reported¹ "had discharged almost all his regular troops, preparatory to his resigning his government, and his present army is composed of new levies," that his "own troops had been much dissatisfied with him lately, and that complaints against him from all quarters² had been most frequent," that he had "only one friend in the Durbar," and "none in his own family." He had only "five or six field guns, and was very unpopular with the army and the people." That his military "resources were inconsiderable, his organized force of all arms not exceeding 3,000³ men, that he was rich, in infirm health, and without children." All these particulars seem to shew the truth of Major Edwardes' opinion that "Moolraj⁴ had been involved in rebellion against his will—that the origin of the rebellion was the national dislike of the Puthans, Beloochees, and Mooltanans (men of high family courage and fallen pride,) to be turned adrift after a life spent in military service—that it was owing," to use the Governor-General's language,⁵ "to the irritated feelings with which the Mooltan soldiers saw a British officer come amongst them, and receive possession of their fort, with the object of changing the whole system of administration under which they were living, and of giving them a new master, acting under the advice, and subject to the immediate control, of the British authorities."⁶

Who was it, then, that laid this train, which was so easily—we may say with truth, accidentally, fired by Moolraj and Chuttur Singh? Who was it that turned the troops adrift, and changed the "whole system of administration of the Punjab," with a view to the entire subjection of the native to European authorities ?

Confessedly, it was the Guardian's own Agent, who effected this

1 *Blue Book*, p. 371.

2 P. 132.

3 P. 133.

4 P. 138.

5 *Blue Book*, p. 151

6 P. 117.

entire revolution in the affairs of his Ward. From the first, the Durbar, the Council of Regency, had been nothing but a passive instrument in the hands of the Resident; they did as they were bid. "The Durbar," said the Resident,¹ "are evidently, one and all, most vexed and troubled at this affair (murder of Mr. Agnew); the members of the Council all came to me within an hour of the news being received, and are most desirous to do anything I might direct, collectively and individually, to meet the emergency." This was the Resident's account of the feeling and conduct of the Durbar in April. In June, he speaks of them as merely acquiescing in the measures he was pursuing, as deficient in "zeal, energy, and judgment."² In July, however, "a great change had come over the spirit of the Durbar; they have been making the most decided and very successful exertions to procure carriage of every description for the use of the British troops."³

"The conduct of the Durbar, collectively and individually," said the Resident,⁴ in August, "has been entirely satisfactory in everything connected with this outbreak, and, indeed, in all other respects, for the last two months."

The Resident had deputed a principal member of the Regency (Raja Deena Nath), on a mission to Chuttur Singh.⁵ "His presence in that part of the country had the effect of appeasing the inhabitants, and he certainly appears to have used his influence in every way to defeat the machinations of Sirdar Chuttur Singh.

"Since his return, he appears to have entered zealously and earnestly into the measures adopted for punishing the rebels by the confiscation of their jagheers, and the attachment of their houses and property, and for counteracting the plots of the insurgents."

It is plain, from the testimony of the Resident himself, that, as the Durbar had nothing to do with originating the outbreaks, either

1 P. 133.

2 *Blue Book*, p. 187

3 P. 197.

4 P. 289.

5 P. 379.

of Moolraj or of Chuttur Singh, so their conduct, during the progress of those rebellions, was blameless. The Governor-General had promised by proclamation,¹ that none who had remained faithful to the Government of Dhuleep Singh should be punished—that only the guilty should suffer. The “Durbar,” supposing it to have had any substantive power, had remained faithful to its duty. There was no case against it. But on the 18th of December, 1848, we have the following statement from the Resident²: “From all that has come to my knowledge, *since I have been at Lahore*, I am quite convinced that, long before the Mooltan outbreak, there was a plan for an insurrection, which was to take place during the current year, in which *all the Sirdars* were to join, and of which the Ranee was the prime mover.” And we find him evoking the testimony of the *sceptical* Captain Abbott in support of his opinion.³ “I would refer to the papers of Captain Abbott in Hazara *passim* for the evidence obtained by him of the intentions of a general rising of the Sikhs, incited by the Sirdar, for the expulsion of the British from the Punjab.”

Since his denunciation of Captain Abbott as an officer, who was incorrigibly credulous, he had fresh proof of that officer's gullibility in an idle tale which he had propagated, respecting the treachery of Gholab Sing of Cashmere, but for the nonce he is become a reliable witness.

Let us see, then, how this statement of his impressions, *ever since he had been at Lahore*, tallies with his own reports. On the 6th of April he wrote to the Governor-General what follows:⁴

“Perfect tranquility prevails throughout all the territories under the Lahore Government, and I have no reason to think that the apparent contentment of the people is other than real. We have now, or have had during the cold months, British officers in all parts of the country; and *the impression seems general that all classes are satisfied at the present state of things*; in three villages; chiefly in Mangha to which the numbers of the disbanded soldiery have returned, we sometimes

1. *Blue Book*, p. 449

2. P. 495

3. P. 494

4. *Blue Book*, p. 127

hear of prophetic rumours being circulated of a day coming when the Sikhs are again to be brought into collision with the British, and with a different result from the last; but beyond this idle and unfrequent talk, there is nothing to indicate that the return of the Khalsa independence is either expected or desired."

This was the Resident's first impression of the state of public feeling in Lahore. On the 24th of April, he reported to the Governor General¹ that he had ordered down "all the chiefs of the greatest note and who had the deepest stake in the preservation of the present order of things, to the spot—i.e. to Mooltan," and that the Sikh Sirdars whom he had sent might "be implicitly relied upon, and that the influence which they had with the soldiery they would make the best use of."

On the 22nd of June, he thus wrote:²—"The Sirdars are true, I believe; the soldiers are all false I know."

On the 13th of July, Major Edwardes reported thus to the Resident:³—"With respect to the Sirdars of Shere Sing's force, I believe them to be heart and soul on our side." And again, the "chief Zemindars have been fighting like Britons on our side." So Lieutenant Taylor to the Resident, on the 15th, "I believe that a large proportion of the Sikhs would be well pleased to see the matter—i.e. Moolraj's rebellion—settled in favour of Government."⁴

Is there not evidence here sufficient to prove that, up to a late period of the outbreak, the Resident was free from all suspicions of any "plan for any insurrection in which all the Sirdars were to join," and that all would have "remained satisfied at the present state of things," if their minds had not been thrown into a ferment by that "change in the whole administration" of the country, which tended to annihilate Lahore as a native state?

The British Government had pledged itself that no change in the mode and details of the administration of the Punjab should be made, but such as were absolutely necessary to maintain the just rights of

1. P. 137

2. *Blue Book*, p. 220

3. P. 254

4. P. 257

all classes,¹—that those details should be conducted by native officers, under the superintendence of a Council of Regency—and that the administration of the country should be conducted by that Council, in such manner as might be determined by themselves in consultation with the British Resident.

We have seen, however, that in less than eight months after the conclusion of this agreement,² so entirely had the Government passed into the Resident's hands, that the Regency, after a quiet struggle to maintain their position, had admitted that "they were only executive officers, to do as they were bid,"—that in nearly the same space of time, so completely had the authority of the Council of Regency been annihilated, that³ "the conduct of all details, even the most minute, in all departments except that of account, had devolved on the Resident and his subordinates,"⁴ that so far from the administration of the country having been conducted in such a manner as might be determined by themselves, the most important of all measures, the re-assessment of the revenue, had been introduced in opposition to their wishes.⁵ That, so far from the administration of the Government being left in the hands of natives, the natives had the nominal, the Europeans all the real power.

"Mr. Agnew's duties will be very arduous," said the Resident.⁶ "as General Khan Singh Meer's will be almost nominal, and the administration will be really conducted by the British agent."

We have seen that Captain Abbott was appointed to co-operate with Chuttur Singh in the government of Hazara, and that the moment he got to his post he separated himself from his native coadjutor, took the whole power into his own hands, and finished by raising the armed population against him; and, when Moolraj was about to resign the government of Mooltan, the Resident, so far from thinking himself bound by the 4th article of the agreement, which required that the

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1. *Punjab Papers*, p. 50
 2. *Blue Book*, p. 16
 3. P. 32
 4. P. 127
 5. P. 128
 6. *Blue Book*, p. 139

details of the Government¹ "should be conducted by native officers, to be appointed and superintended by the Council of Regency," expressed a strong opinion,² not only, that there was not a native at Lahore who possessed the requisite qualifications to succeed him, but that there was not one who had "even a conception of the duties which would be required of him." He proposed, therefore, to entrust the duty to two of his assistants, "the young and inexperienced officers" of his successor,³ "who were without any experience of revenue matters, some altogether ignorant; none had knowledge of local usages and accounts."

It was in this way that the natives of the Punjab saw⁴ the whole system of administration under "which they were living changed, in order to give them new masters, acting under the advice, and subject to the immediate control, of the British authorities." In these measures, they read the intention of these authorities gradually to approximate the administration of the Punjab to that of our own provinces, an administration which gives to Europeans a monopoly in every office of honour and emolument.

Contemporaneously with this revolution in the Civil administration, which threw the whole Government into the hands of the Resident and his assistants, were reductions and reforms in the military establishment. "I see around me," said the Resident,⁵ "and hear of many men, who having been generals and colonels in the Sikh army, are now struggling for existence. There are, then, from 10,000 to 20,000 disbanded soldiers on the surface of society." One would have thought that his attention would have been rivetted to measures for relieving such distress. The Sikh army before the war of 1845 had amounted to 80,000 men; by the treaty of 1846 it was limited to 32,000; but by the end of 1847 the numbers had been reduced to 27,000,⁶—the additional number thus thrown upon the surface of society were, of course, like the others, ripe for any service that would restore them their lost bread. The plea of financial necessity could not

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1. P. 89
 2. P. 89
 3. P. 107
 4. *Blue Book*, p.128
 5. P. 7
 6. Pp. 98-103

be urged for this reduction, for with one hand the Resident disbanded the troops, with the other he flooded the land with judges¹ and other establishments, making an increase of expenditure of between five and six lacs of rupees; and simultaneously, in utter ignorance, as he admits,² of the real amount of the produce which the people paid as revenue—with evidence in his possession that many parts of the country were in a high state of prosperity, “the people flourishing and content,” and by no means overtaxed—he set his³ assistants to work to reduce it, their qualifications for this arduous task being, as we have seen, inexperience in revenue affairs, and utter ignorance of local usages and accounts. By the labour of these agents, Dhuleep Singh’s revenue was reduced to the extent of 15 lacs of rupees in the course of five months⁴ and his expenses increased at the same time by the destruction of old forts and the construction of new ones.⁵ All these reforms, financial and judicial, were undertaken under the impression that the Punjab had been—not since Ranjeet Singh’s death—not during Ranjeet Singh’s life—but for “centuries in a state of anarchy;”⁶ that the Punjab, which from the time of Alexander to the extinction of the Moghul Empire, had been regarded as the garden of Hindostan, “was but the other day reclaimed from a state of the most ignorant barbarism,” though recent traveller tells us,⁷ that to Ranjeet Singh belonged the honour of having enabled his subjects by his protecting sway, “to till their lands in peace, and in a few years, as it were, to change the face of nature.”

By discharging troops, by passing upon a whole people the humiliating sentence that not one amongst them was competent to fill an office, which nevertheless the youngest of his inexperienced assistants was declared qualified to occupy; by taking the details of the Government into his own hands; by exalting the European at the expense of the native, the Resident imbued the people with a suspicion that it was intended gradually to annihilate the Lahore state as a

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1. *Blue Book*, pp. 6, 21.
 2. Pp. 62-71.
 3. Pp. 57, 72, 74.
 4. P. 112-114.
 5. P. 81.
 6. P. 2.
 7. Masson, vol. ii.

native government and thus laid the train which was so easily fired by Moolraj and Chuttur Singh. These suspicions were ripened into certainty by his language upon the first news reaching him of the outbreak in Mooltan.

"Your Lordship," he says,¹ "will, I fear, have to consider how far it is incumbent upon us, how far it is possible for us to maintain an engagement with a Government, which in the person of its chiefs, its soldiery, and its people, repays our endeavours for its maintenance by perfidy and outrage, and is powerless to afford redress.

"Doubtless," he goes on to say, "*we have reduced it to its state of weakness*, but we are not responsible for its treachery and violation of trust, and the consequences there of in spoliation and crime."

What, then, was the state of matters when the Resident pronounced this sentence against what he calls the Government of Lahore? He had admitted that Moolraj's involvement in the outbreak was accidental; that he had disbanded his best troops, and was preparing to resign his office, when the murder of Mr. Agnew was perpetrated; that "if in rebellion at all, it was to the Sikh Government, and to the orders of that Government; that the rebellion had not spread at all beyond the immediate vicinity of Mooltan;" that "Lahore itself and the neighbouring country was in a much quieter state than they were;" that the other districts of the Punjab were tranquil; and that even a month later the example which had been set by the troops in Mooltan² "had in no instance been followed:" and yet we have him, in the same breath, denouncing *that* Government, its chiefs, its soldiery, and its people, as guilty of outrage and treachery to the British Government; a Government which we had reduced to a state of inanition; and expressing a doubt whether it would be possible for us to maintain our engagements with it!

Who can fail to see in this language a determination to make this accidental outbreak a pretext for seizing upon the Punjab? and who can wonder that an opinion, as Major Edwardes tells us,³ should have gone very prevalently abroad, that "the British mediate declaring the Punjab forfeited by the recent troubles and misconduct

1. *Blue Book*, p. 140.

2. *Blue Book*, p. 167.

3. *Blue Book*, p. 271.

of the troops." So completely, indeed, was this understood by the British authorities, that Major Edwardes found it necessary to remind General Whish,¹ who commanded the troops before Mooltan, that there was such a person as Dhuleep Singh; that we had made a treaty with with him which was still in force, and that it was against Dhuleep Singh that Moolraj had rebelled; as all allusion to the Sovereign of Lahore had been omitted in a proclamation which the General had proposed to issue to the inhabitants of Mooltan.

The invitation of the Resident to the Governor-General to break his engagements with the "treacherous Government of Lahore", was thus responded to:—"The British Government will put forth the whole power they can command for the purpose of...exactng from the State of Lahore that national reparation which the national injury done to the Government of the East India Company imperatively requires. The Lahore Government has failed, and will ever fail, it is feared, to punish the murderers of the British officers, and to repress the rebellion. The British Government must do this for themselves".

Who would have supposed, from this language, that the rebellion here spoken of was a rebellion against the Lahore Government, the springs of which were all in the hands of the Governor-General—that he was under treaty obligations to supress that rebellion—that, in utter disregard of these obligations, he had refused to make that simple demonstration of British troops which would have secured that object, and all that the so-called "Government of Lahore" had failed to do, was to capture, unaided by British troops, Mooltan—a fortress which, the Governor-General tells us, "sustained a siege of 15,000 British troops, and as many more irregulars, for a period of several weeks;" and, remembering these facts, can we fail to recognize in this language, the old fable of the "Wolf and the Lamb ?" These unmistakeable intimations of a determination at all events to make the Mooltan outbreak a pretext for confiscation of Lahore, were put forth after the minds of the population had been irritated by our treatment of the Rajah's mother.

Whether this Princess was as black as she is painted in the blue books, it is impossible to determine, seeing that we have only the

1 P. 327

English picture of her. It is certain that she was a woman of great talents, and of great influence in the Punjab. Our treatment of her was assigned by the Sikhs as a principal cause of their revolt.

“The whole of the people,” said Shere Singh,¹ “whether high or low, have been dispirited by this conduct; and the Sirdars who voted for her expulsion from the country, did so solely to protect their own dignity and honour, and to meet the wishes of the Resident. How could her well-wishers dare to express their thoughts?” We have seen² the spirited refusal which the young Rajah gave to the proposal of the Resident, that he should confer a title on Tej Singh, a man who had been “promoted to the highest station in the kingdom, although he had never been known to display any ability or courage, or to have been entrusted with any share of the Government of the country” before the advent of the British Government, and the transfer for the nonce by the Resident, of the royal prerogative, to a priest.

This event occurred on the 7th of August, and was attributed by the Resident to the “careful schooling” of his mother; but it was really owing to the repugnance which all classes of Sikhs felt at the bestowal of honours upon a man who betrayed his country, and whose only desire it was to be “upheld as the minister of a dependent kingdom by grateful conquerors.”³

¹ *Blue Book*, p. 434

² Pp. 9, 10

³ Cunningham's *History*, p. 304

Note :— “This reserve was commanded by Tej Singh. He had been urged by his zealous and sincere soldiery to fall upon the English at day-break, but his object was to have the dreaded army of the Khalsa overcome and dispersed; and he delayed until his opponents had again ranged themselves round their colours. Even at the last moment he rather skirmished and made feints, than led his men to a resolute attack, and after a time he precipitately fled, leaving his subordinates without order, and without an object, at a moment when the artillery and ammunition of the English had failed, when portion of their force was retiring upon Ferozepur and when no exertions could have saved the remainder, if the Sikhs had boldly pressed forward.

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From the moment the Ranee's expatriation was determined upon, the life of the "great patriot," Tej Singh, was not, it was affirmed, safe, so long as she remained in the reach of the Rajah. "I do not," said the Resident, "disguise from myself the fact that the Ranee is the only active enemy to our policy, that I am aware of, in the country. The Maharanee alone turns obstinately against us."

One would have thought that a woman so utterly without support might have been allowed to remain unnoticed; but it was determined to "expel her from the Punjab for ever." A conspiracy, it was said,¹ had been discovered to attack the British troops at Lahore, and to take Sirdar Tej Singh's life. The Ranee was said to have been the prime mover in it. It was admitted that there was no proof against her—that it was difficult "to understand its nature or ultimate objects—the conspirators being generally needy, discontented adventurers, without money, influence, or connexion." Nevertheless, the Governor-General, as guardian of the young Prince, considered it to be his duty to "remove the Ranee at once from Lahore to the other side the Sutlej, or, on the representation and solicitation of the native Council,² to transport her at once to the British provinces". But though this Council was headed by Tej Singh, and was kept in existence to do the Resident's bidding, they "refused to incur the odium of participating in effecting the banishment of

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"The traitor, Tej Singh, instead of leading fresh men to sustain the failing strength of the troops on his right, fled on the first assaults, and, either accidentally or by design, sank a boat in the middle of the bridg of communication."

Can we wonder that the young Rajah, who is represented to have been a remarkably intelligent child, "shrunk back, with a determination foreign both to his age and and gentle disposition," when it was proposed to him to confer honour upon such a man as this? It was for having revealed these truths regarding those whom the British authorities delighted to honour, and for having shewn irrefragably that the Sikh invasion was not a wanton, but a provoked aggression—that the historian, Captain Cunningham, was dismissed from his office.

¹ *Blue Book*, pp, 40,38,47

² P. 49

the Maharanee."¹

The mother was separated from her child by a ruse, with as much "delicacy as possible," and the "*unfortunate* lady", as the Resident calls her, was sent to Sheikoorpora, in the first instance, where she was placed under strict surveillance, stripped of all her goods and property, and eventually to Benares, her allowance having been reduced to 48,000 rupees a year, in the face of the 10th article of the Treaty of December, 1846, by which it was stipulated that the sum of one lac and 50,000 rupees should be set apart annually for her support, and should be at her Highness's disposal; and all this was done upon vague "hearsays" that she had been engaged in intrigues against the Lahore Government.²

Is it surprising that this treatment of the "mother of their sovereign, and of the widow of Runjeet Singh, should have exasperated the people?" It was alleged by Dost Mahomed as one of the reasons of Sikh discontent.³ "From what I observe of what is occurring," said he, "in the Punjab, there can be no doubt that the Sikhs are becoming more and more discontented. Some have been dismissed from service, while others have been banished to Hindostan; in particular, the mother of Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, who has been imprisoned and ill treated. Such treatment is objectionable to all creeds, and both high and low prefer death."

"A formal trial of Maharajah's widow would," the Resident said, "be most unpopular, and hurtful to the feelings of the people;" and therefore, in order not to hurt the feelings of the people, it was determined to banish, imprison, and plunder her, without any trial at all! A cart-load of assertions, and a good deal of abuse, was allowed to stand in the place of proof. But this regard for the "feelings of the people" was all a pretext. No formal trial was necessary; all that was required was, that the charges against her should have been communicated to her in writing, and that she should have been called upon to give a written answer to them; but

1 P. 51.

2 *Blue Book*, p. 131.

3 P. 512.

no such fair dealing was dreamt of by the British authorities.

The baneful effect which these proceedings had upon the Sikh troops, are thus evidenced by the Resident himself.¹ "The reports from Rajah Shere Singh's camp are, that the Khalsa soldiery, on hearing of the removal of the Maharanee, were much disturbed; they said that she was the mother of the Khalsa, and that, as she was gone, and the young Dhuleep Singh in our hands, they had no longer any one to fight for or uphold; that they had no inducement to oppose Moolraj; and if he came to attack them, would seize the Sirdars and their officers, and go over to him."

We have it on the testimony of Major Edwardes, that two-thirds at the very least of Dhuleep Singh's subjects remained staunchly loyal to their sovereign during this rebellion.

"The proverbial fanaticism of the Sikhs,"² he says, "was never more fully shewn than in thus provoking *two-thirds of the people of the Punjab to side* against them in their struggle for independence."

What, then, are we to think of the hardy assertion of the Governor-General,³ that "the whole body of the nation, army and people alike, deliberately and unprovoked made war against us?"

The charge is not even true against the whole army, for many of the Sikh troops had remained true to their colours, and did good service,⁴ and so little was there of concert or of feeling amongst the Sikh chiefs, that Rajah Shere Singh, and the other insurgents, had, as we are told by the Governor-General,⁵ actually marched from the Indus "in despair at the refusals he had received from *the Sikh officers* at Peishawar." Up to the 4th of Oct., 1848,⁶ no Sirdar had joined Chuttur Singh, and on the 26th of October the united forces of Chuttur and Shere Singh and Ootar Singh amounted only to six regiments of infantry, 26 or 28 guns, about 3,500 cavalry,

1 *Blue Book*, p. 179.

2 P.400.

3 *Punjab Papers*, p 660.

4 *Blue Book*, p. 422.

5 P. 391.

6 P. 399.

and a large horde of newly-raised, unorganized, and illarmed irregulars."

The Governor-General expresses his surprise,¹ that "the defection of troops should have occurred at the very period when some success had been achieved against their cause. Thus we find the Peishawar troops going over when all hopes of their co-operation having failed, Rajah Chuttur Singh was seeking the intervention of Maharajah Gholab Singh in his behalf. Rajah Shere Singh deserting the camp of the allies just after they had obtained the most signal success, the petty chiefs of Moranee and Rungur Nuzzul starting into rebellion after the occupation of Gwindghur was calculated to extinguish their hopes."

But all these movements are sufficiently accounted for by the unrighteous sentence which we had passed upon Chuttur Singh, which drove him and his son into rebellion; and by the well-founded report, which Major Edwardes tells us prevailed, that it was our settled determination to make these outbreaks the pretext for the confiscation of the Punjab.

It is freely admitted, that if the Governor-General had, as he asserted that he had, maintained the Government of Lahore in a "Council of Regency," he might have justly exacted reparation from the infant Dhuleep Singh, for any injuries that the British interests might have sustained under such a Government, but we have seen it admitted by his own agents, that in less than six months after the establishment of that Council, the whole power of the state, even to the most minute details, had passed into the hands of the Resident and his assistants, and the Council was reduced to a state of inanition.

Pretty certain it is, that if the Government had been left in the hands of that Council, there would have been no rebellion; no disbandment of troops; no flooding of the land with judges; no reform of the revenue by ignorant and inexperienced assistants; no new system of jurisprudence to be carried out by those who had,²

1. P. 391.

2. *Blue Book*, p. 128.

“most of them, themselves to learn, ere they became teachers;” no such treatment of Moolraj as compelled that Chief to resign a lucrative and honourable post, and though rich, childless, and infirm, to become the leader in a hopeless rebellion; no punishment of Chuttur Singh for defending himself against the menaces of Captain Abbot; no overriding of the native officers by their Europeans colleagues; none of those doings, in short, which forced a conviction upon the minds of the Sikh aristocracy that it was intended to reduce them to the level of the same class in the British territories.

Could the Governor-General with justice exact reparation from Dhuleep Singh for the natural consequences of those proceedings? Was he, who was by treaty Regent of Dhuleep Singh's kingdom, with “unlimited powers,” and who professed to “feel the interest of a father¹ in the education and guardianship of the young prince,” warranted in confiscating the territory and property of his ward and ally because a portion of his army, and it may be a portion of his subjects, had been goaded into rebellion against a state of things which had been produced by the acts of his Guardian's own agents?

I am aware of the opinion of the highest authorities, that the Governor-General had no alternative but to confiscate the Punjab. Mr. Elphinstone, I believe, holds such an opinion. Sir Henry Russell, I know, has expressed it, but perhaps without advertence to the fact that, from December, 1846, the Governor-General had ruled the state of Lahore, with “unlimited powers,” with greater powers, therefore, than he rules in the British dominions, for in them his power is restricted. There was no one thing, therefore, that he can do, now that the Punjab has become a British possession, that he could not have done if he had preserved it to Dhuleep Singh. It is true that those powers were limited by treaty to the term of the Rajah's minority; but if he was at liberty to confiscate the territory, he was surely at liberty to have prolonged those powers indefinitely.

The Allies would have been perfectly warranted in visiting the revolt of the French army in 1815 upon Louis XVIII., because Louis was the responsible sovereign of France. But if Louis had been a

1. P. 53.

minor, and if the Allies had undertaken to govern France for him, and had made themselves guardians of his person and property, would they in such case have been warranted in confiscating his territory to their own use, because the army had revolted against a state of things which they had themselves brought about ?

Moreover, the Governor-General, upon Moolraj's outbreak,¹ had declared that the extent of the reparation to be exacted from the state of Lahore should depend upon the manner in which that state had fulfilled its engagements to the British Government." And at an advanced state of the revolt, we had proclaimed that "those who had remained faithful in their obedience to the Government of *Maharajah Dhuleep Singh*, should not suffer with the guilty."

How were these promises kept ? The answer is to be found in the terms granted at the conclusion of the revolt by the Governor-General to the Maharajah.

1. "His Highness shall resign for himself and his heirs all rights, title, and claim, to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever.

2. "All the property of the state, of whatever description, shall be confiscated to the Honourable East India Company, in part payment of the debt due by the state of Lahore to the British Government, and of the expenses of the war.

3. "The gem called the Koh-i-noor, which was taken from Shah Soojah-ol-mulk by Maharajah Runjeet Singh, shall be surrendered by the Maharajah of Lahore to the Queen of England."

The revolt, as we have seen in the document just before quoted, was up to the last moment, proclaimed by the Governor-General to have been a revolt against the Government of Dhuleep Singh; Dhuleep Singh, therefore, was not amongst the guilty. The "Government of Lahore" had, to the best of its ability, fulfilled all its engagements.

It is very true, we find it asserted by the Governor-General, that the leaders of the rebels had been "the Sirdars of the state, the signers of the Treaties, the members of the Council of Regency itself."

1. *Blue Book*, p. 449.

But we have only to consult the lists¹ of Sirdars who had, and who had not, joined the rebels, for proof that this statement was inaccurate—that a large majority of the so-called Council, viz., Sirdar Tej Singh, Dewan Deena Nath, Fakeer Noorooddeen, Bhaee Nidham Singh, Sirdar Uttur Singh Kalewalla, Sirdar Shumser Singh Sindhanwalla, had remained true to their allegiance.

But though the state of Lahore had remained faithful to its engagements with the British Government, the Government had violated its own engagements with the Lahore state. Firstly, in having failed to maintain that Government in a Council of Regency; secondly in having refused to make that simple demonstration of British troops which would have crushed Moolraj's rebellion in the bud; and thirdly, by the confiscation of the territory and property of its ward, in violation of that pledge of "perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government and the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, his heirs and successors," which it had given by the treaty of March, 1846.

And what have we gained by the confiscation of the territory of an infant prince, of whom we had made ourselves the guardians? We had full military possession of the territory, as we have now. The civil administration was entirely in our hands as it is now, and Dhuleep Singh was bound to pay us a tribute of 22 lacs of rupees a year.

What have we gained by the confiscation? Is our hold of the Punjab stronger, now that it is become a British province in name, than it was when it was so in reality, though not in name? Have we increased the attachment of the people by the extinction of the Khalsa dynasty? They valued that dynasty as the fountain of honour, of employment, and of emolument. So long as Dhuleep Singh's government existed, that fountain was in play; by the extinction of that government, we have dried it up. Thousands of the lower classes have lost their bread by it, hundreds of the higher their places, and the prospects of all classes have been blasted; for from henceforth no native of the Punjab can aspire to hold any office of distinction and emolument in his own country. The feeling of all classes has,

1. *Blue Book*, pp. 547-489.

therefore, been exasperated against us by the measure.

By an account which has been recently published, it appears that, upon the most favourable estimate that can be formed, the excess of revenue in the Punjab over expenditure will not exceed 20 lacs of rupees, which is some lacs less than Dhuleep Singh had engaged to pay us as tribute.

Who then, has gained by it? The answer is to be found in the following statement¹:—

“At this time, there are *fifty-three* district (European) officers, of the grade of Deputy and Assistant Commissionerships (in the Punjab), and when the number is complete it will amount to fifty-eight. In November, 1845, the Government established by the genius of Runjeet Singh was in full operation; the whole administration was in the hands of the native chiefs, whom he had trained up. In 1849, not a vestige of this economy was visible; the successor of Runjeet was a pensioner of the British Government, his mother a fugitive in Nepal; the great men of his court, partly pensioned and partly prisoners; a board of British officers issued their orders to the most remote districts in the kingdom; the whole country had been parcelled out into commissionerships and districts.”

Here, then, we have ample proof of the truth of what I ventured to assert in a former communication, that the extinction of a native state is the creation of a field of employment and emolument for the European, at the expense of the native. The sixty or seventy gentlemen who have stepped into the places of the native chiefs, have unquestionably benefitted by the confiscation of the Punjab. And is there not, I may venture to ask, some danger that, where the temptation to acquire territory is so strong, it may be sometimes yielded to at the expense of justice? How easy for the powerful British Government to force subjects who, like Moolraj and Chuttur Singh, had the deepest interest in maintaining the throne of their Sovereign, into rebellion, and then to punish the sovereign for the offence by seizing upon his territory!

The confiscation of the Punjab is a thing done, and if I could

1. *Friend of India*, April 18, 1850.

make it transparent as the sun, that the act was a wanton violation of most solemn duties which we had imposed upon ourselves, it would not be undone; still it may be useful for purposes of history and of morality to trace the steps by which the acquisition was made.

It is very easy to talk of the "wanton aggressions of the Sikhs," of their "inveterate hostility," and of the formidable rebellion, which cost us thousands of lives and millions of money to put down. But what made the Sikhs inveterately hostile? They were our staunch friends for nearly 40 years. In our adversity, when they might have struck a deadly blow at us, they helped us; although history now tells us,¹ that it had just before been twice proposed by our diplomatists to dismember their kingdom, by bestowing Peshawur, first on Shah Shojah, and afterwards on Dost Mohammed Khan; that we had in 1843 proposed "to march upon their capital, and to disperse their army;" that, in 1844 and 1845, when they were in a state of prostration from internal dissensions, we had increased our force on their frontier from 8000 to 38,000 men, and had actually built and transported a bridge of boats for crossing the Sutlege; that "the various garrisons of the north-west provinces were being gradually reinforced, while some of them were being abundantly supplied with munitions of war, as well as of troops." That an open collision with the Sikhs had only been avoided by the forbearance of the commandant of a party of Sikh horse, who had been driven across the river by our agent, when in pursuit of a legitimate object.

Is it to be wondered at, after these demonstrations—none of which were communicated to their Government—and with the precedent of Scinde before their eyes—that they should have considered "that the fixed policy of the English Government was territorial aggrandizement, and that the immediate object of their ambition was the conquest of Lahore?" and can we, with these facts before us, pretend to call the invasion of our territory by the Sikhs in 1846, a "wanton aggression—a perfidious outbreak?"² If you shake your fist in a man's face, is he a wanton aggressor if he attempts to knock you down?

1. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, 293.

2. *Blue Book*, p.380.

And what was our conduct after the "conquest of Lahore?" We took into our bosom confidence men who had betrayed their country; men who, with one exception, were without character in their country Tej Singh the traitor, and Chuttur Singh, a man without influence, property, or distinction, whom the army and the people considered as an apostate, and a creature of the British Government;¹ men who "knew that they could not maintain themselves against the reduced army, when the English left the country," who "clung therefore to their foreign support, and gladly assented to an arrangement which left the English in immediate possession of the Punjab."

Can we wonder that these men were pliant tools in the hands of the Resident, doing only as "they were bid;" or that the gradual encroachments which were made under their name upon the little that was left of their national independence, should have disaffected the Sikhs, and have led them into that struggle which ended in their ruin, and in the elevation of British officers to every place of honour and emolument in their country?

I conclude this long story with an answer to the question on the title-page, "To whom does the Koh-i-noor belong?" We have seen that the Governor-General took the territory of Lahore, and all the property of every description that belonged to the state, in "part payment of the debt due by the state of Lahore to the British Government, and of the expenses of the war." The territory was worth from one and a half to two millions a year. The expenses of the war and the debt together did not, it is presumed, much exceed that sum: but supposing it to have exceeded the annual revenue of the territory twice or thrice, the Governor-General had, by seizing upon the territory, and upon all the property of the state of "every description," obtained ample indemnity for the past, and security for the future.

The "Koh-i-Noor," therefore, in the opinion of the Governor-General, did not form part of *the property of the State*. He might have made it such if he had pleased—but he failed to do so. He had no more right, therefore, I humbly venture to say, to

¹ Cunningham, p, 233.

compel his ward, the Maharajah of Lahore, to surrender the Koh-i-Noor to the Queen of England, than Runjeet Singh had to extort it from Shah Soojah.

May I, in conclusion, be permitted to remind you of the heavy responsibility you are incurring in sanctioning a course of policy which has been denounced by Sir Thomas Munro, by Mr. Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Henry Russell, and the late Lord Metcalfe, as fatal to the stability of our power in India ? All these distinguished men have warned us against the danger of wantonly subverting native states; and more, I am sorry to say, have been thus subverted, since you have been at the head of India affairs, than for half a century before.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

Hindi, Urdu and Panjabi Tracts on Nineteenth Century Punjab

An Introduction to the Pamphlet Collections in the British Museum and
India Office Library

DR. N. GERALD BARRIER*

Government records and vernacular literature are the most important sources for an evaluation of nineteenth-century Punjab. Students have been using Sikh and British proceedings for several years, but vernacular material remains untapped. The factors perpetuating this situation are gradually being removed. First, the time-honoured approach to modern Indian history has been emphasis on the British and administrative problems. Although the ready accessibility of English-language sources tends to reinforce this traditional orientation, new trends have appeared recently. Study of Indian society, customs, and political activity has led scholars to step outside the archives into the difficult but rewarding area of "indigenous documents." Emphasis on language training during the last decade has stimulated these historiographic trends and at the same time provided scholars with the requisite skills for pursuing new approaches and problems. Despite being behind their Indian and Pakistani colleagues in the ability to read vernacular sources, American area specialists have begun to use Indian languages in research. Accompanying these developments is a new awareness of the available vernacular material. It has often been assumed that many old pamphlets and newspapers were dispersed or destroyed, but now scholars are discovering caches in bookstores, private libraries, and the archives of organizations such as the Arya Samaj and Muslim Anjumans. This paper surveys the history, organization, and scope of the two largest vernacular collections in existence, the Hindi, Panjabi, and Urdu pamphlets in the India Office Library and the British Museum.

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Background of the Collections

It is important to understand the historical development of pamphlet collections in the India Office Library and the British Museum because that development influenced the character and variety of each library's holdings. The following section traces the evolving acquisition systems, with particular reference to Punjab tracts and banned publications.

Prior to the 1867 Indian Press Regulation Act (XXV), the India Office Library and the British Museum did not acquire vernacular publications methodically. Librarians scanned newspapers and lists of tracts for titles and then purchased from Indian agents whatever seemed valuable. The early collections, therefore, reflect the interest of individual librarians and the availability of ordered books.¹ Neither library received substantial assistance from the Indian Government. The British Copyright Act of 1845 (5 and 6 Vict. c. 45) named the British Museum a depository for copies of books published in England and the "colonies," but Indian officials were not requested to supply the Museum with either English-language or vernacular material.² The Government of India occasionally sent books to the India Office, but service was erratic. The Calcutta secretariat had no system for acquiring books because copyright and registration acts did not require printers to send copies to the government. The 1842 Copyright Act remained as dead letter, and the Suppression of the Press Act of 1857 was only a temporary measure establishing guidelines for surveillance of Indian publications.³

The passage of "An Act for the Regulation of Printing Presses and Newspapers, for the preservation of Copies of Books printed in British India, and for the Registration of Such Books" (XXV of 1857) helped establish a comprehensive system of acquisition for the India Office Library. The Act required publishers to supply the British with at least three copies of every item printed in India. Provincial governments were to pay for the books, examine their contents, keep two copies, and send the third, if requested, to the India Office Library.⁴ With the exception of lost or misdirected shipments, from 1868 onward the India Office Library received a copy of any current book ordered from India. Acquisition procedure was relatively simple. The Indian government, in conjunction with provin-

cial authorities, prepared quarterly lists of publications containing information on each book (title, translation of title if vernacular, language, author, subject, pages, number of copies, publisher, and printer). These catalogues were sent to the India Office librarians who marked desirable items and returned the catalogues to India. The Indian Home Department then collected the volumes and shipped them to London in large packets.⁵

Although there is no information on arrangements concerning Punjab books prior to 1867, the India Office and the British Museum apparently had agents in Lahore and Delhi who purchased Hindi, Urdu, and Panjabi books on literature, society, and religion in the Punjab. After 1868 the Punjab government cooperated in preparing publication lists and supplied the India Office Library with requested items.⁶

The India Office was handling its acquisition problems so successfully by 1877 that the British Museum asked Indian officials for help in securing books. The Indian government denied a British Museum request for free books under the 1842 Copyright Act, but it did agree to serve as agent and collect items selected and paid for by Museum librarians. Between 1878 and 1883 the India Office Library gave the British Museum quarterly lists of publications and helped purchase the marked volumes. The result was chaos and increasing tension between the two libraries. Accounting problems and the "very voluminous, and sometimes intricate correspondence" with the Museum finally led the India Office to terminate supplying books in December of 1883. The Museum then tried to hire permanent agents in India. Thacker Spink and Company of Calcutta became the primary agent for all provinces except Bombay and the North-Western Provinces. Within three years, the failure of the new arrangements generated a fresh attempt by the British Museum to secure aid from Indian officials. Museum Trustees argued that the extension of the Copyright Act to India in 1842 meant that the government must help collect items for the principal British depository. They suggested that provincial authorities name an official to correspond with the British Museum and handle local negotiations. The Museum in turn would pay for some of the books and all freight charges. Following

a delegation from the British Museum to Calcutta and further discussion, the home and Indian governments gave way to the demands and requested each province to name individuals or departments as contacts for the British Museum. In the Punjab, for example, the Director of Public Instruction and his secretariat received marked catalogues, gathered books, and sent them directly to the British Museum.

The system had barely been functioning a year when the Press Regulation Act of 1867 was amended. The new legislation (Act X of 1890) required printers to present the government with one free copy of each book, and two additional copies if requested within a year of publication. The extra books would be sent free to the India Office library and the British Museum. The 1890 Act regularized acquisitions for both depositories. Each marked catalogues and mailed them to designated representatives within the provincial governments. The agents (for the Punjab, the Registrar of the Education Department) forwarded all books to the India Office, where Museum officials picked up the free copies. Panjabi tracts were apparently transferred with minimal confusion, and only infrequently did arrangements break down between the Punjab Education Department and London Libraries.¹⁰

The India Office Library and the British Museum, therefore, assembled thousands of books and leaflets published in the Punjab. Two important sets of publications, however, were never collected through normal channels. First, selection and purchase of volumes printed in princely states was generally left to the discretion of the Punjab secretariat and Punjab Foreign Department. The Indian Registration Acts did not apply to such publications. The Government of India attempted to systematize the selective process in 1890 by asking the Punjab and other local governments to prepare rough handlists of publications in princely states, but despite Punjab cooperation, the practice had lapsed by 1895.¹¹ Because the British Museum and India Office Library were too busy with other affairs to reopen the issue, books from Punjab states continued to arrive sporadically. In 1902, for example, A. H. Diack, Secretary to the Punjab Government, supplied the British Museum with a copy of *Basant Sat Saiya*, a book of poetry from Nabha.¹²

Although many tracts in the second set of publications, proscribed books, pertain chiefly to the twentieth century, the banned materials should be mentioned because of their potential value as a major source for interpreting Punjab history. The Indian government began widespread proscription of controversial pamphlets after the 1907 disturbances in Bengal and the Punjab. These banned volumes on religion, politics and history were not mentioned in the quarterly catalogues and until 1914 none were sent to England except as evidence in political and C. I. D. files. In April of 1914 the issue of proscribed tracts was raised when the Bombay government inquired whether the British Museum and India Office Library were to receive copies of books banned under the Press Act of 1910. The Government of India debated the matter and decided finally that controversial publications should not be sent to England. The Judicial and Public Committee of the India Council disagreed, however, and requested the opinion of British Museum authorities. The British Museum insisted on its right to possess a copy of all publications, not just those judged historical or of value by the Indian government:

The Question whether a work has an interest of some kind or other being one that can be decided only by posterity (although one may make reasonably confident (auguries) the principle of making collections as complete as possible is one which most commends itself to Libraries.¹³...

At the same time the Museum took account of the government's fears and offered to lock away banned works until their addition to the public collection "may be unobjectionable."¹⁴ The Librarian of the India Office supported the British Museum's position. The Secretary of State for India then urged the Indian Government to preserve copies of banned material because of its literary and "real psychological (or perhaps pathological) interest."¹⁵ The Governor General and his Council reassessed the issue, decided that transmission of proscribed books would be troublesome but not dangerous, and sent out new instructions to provincial governments. In the future, two copies were to be shipped separately to the India Office, while the initial packets should include as many previously outlawed publications as possible. For approximately a decade the India Office

Library and the British Museum received the special consignments and locked them in cupboards, but by 1929 all governments except the United Provinces had stopped supplying books. The overworked staff in the India Office Library preferred to abolish acquisition of controversial volumes, but when British Museum officials again stood firm, the Government of India ordered a resumption of shipments. Earlier publications were also to be supplied if available.¹⁶ The operation of the system cannot be traced after 1938 because the Register and Record Department proceedings of the India Office are closed, but British Museum letter books indicate that proscribed volumes were shipped to England on a somewhat regular basis until 1947.

Organization of the tracts

There are approximately 20,000 Urdu, 23,000 Hindi, and 6,000 Panjabi tracts in the India Office Library collection. Although exact statistics are unavailable, rough calculations based on printed indices suggest that 2,000 Urdu, 800 Hindi, and 900 Panjabi tracts relate to nineteenth-century Punjab.¹⁷ Tracts are arranged by language, size, and subject. For example, Urdu tracts are divided into several series: Hindustani tracts (most of the pre-1900 material), Urdu B tracts (later additions, 8" tall and under), Urdu D tracts (8-10"), Urdu F and G tracts (foolscap and irregular size). Individual tracts acquired prior to 1920 were bound together in volumes; those after 1920 were either unbound or bound separately.¹⁸ A noted philologist and former member of the Bengal Uncovenanted Civil Service, J.F. Blumhardt, published two valuable guides to the nineteenth-century tracts in the India Office Library, *Hindustani Books* (London: 1900; 379 pp) and *Hindi, Panjabi, Pushtu, and Sindhi Books* (London: 1902; 151, 54, 13, 14 pp.). The catalogues present the romanized title of each book and its approximate English translation, author, number of pages, place of publication, and date. Extensive indices to works and authors increase the utility of the catalogues. The sole guides to post-1900 tracts are card catalogues divided by period (Urdu: 1900-1945, 1945-1960, 1960—; Panjabi: 1902-1950, 1950—, Hindi 1902-1944, 1945-1956, 1957—). Catalogues are arranged by author and title. C.J. Napier is preparing an inclusive printed guide to the pre-1960

Hindi collection, while proofs of a similar guide to Panjabi holdings prepared by the late Dr. Ganesh Gaur are being revised for publication in 1969 or 1970¹⁹ One speedy method for checking whether the India Office Library has a particular volume is to examine the set of quarterly lists on Punjab publications. In addition to sending a list back to India, the librarians kept a marked duplicate. If the book in question has been checked off, it is very likely in the collection.²⁰ Librarians in charge of the Punjab vernacular materials are Miss J.R. Watson (Persian, Urdu), Miss E.M. Dimes (Panjabi), and Miss U. Pathak (Hindi).

The British Museum holdings include, 14,000 Urdu, 10,600 Hindi, and 1,650 Panjabi tracts, of which approximately 1,200 Urdu, 350 Hindi, and 300 Panjabi items relate to nineteenth-century Punjab. Tracts are arranged by language and subject and bound into volumes which are scattered through the Oriental Books section of the stacks²¹ J.F. Blumhardt also prepared the guides to the early collections of vernacular books in the British Museum, *Catalogue of Hindustani Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum* (London : 1889; 458 pp.) and *Catalogues of the Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, and Pushtu Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum* (London : 1893; 278,63,23,54 pp.). The British Museum has published periodic supplements to the original guides : J.F. Blumhardt, *A Supplementary Catalogue of the Hindustani Books in the Library of the British Museum Acquired during the years 1889-1908* (London : 1909; 678 pp.); J.F. Blumhardt, *A Supplementary Catalogue of Hindi Books in the Library of the British Museum Acquired during the years 1893-1912* (London : 1913; 470 pp.); J.F. Blumhardt, L.D. Barnett, and J.V.S. Wilkenson, *A Second Supplementary Catalogue of Printed Books in Hindi, Bihari (Including Bhojpuria, Kaurmali, and Maithili) and Pahari (Including Nepali or Khaskura, Jaunsari, Mandeali, &c.) in the Library of the British Museum* (London: 1957; 1678 pp.); L.D. Barnett, *Panjabi Printed Books in the British Museum; A Supplementary Catalogue* (London : 1961; 121 pp.); The Student's Room of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts contains card catalogues on works not in the printed guides. These catalogues are divided by language, with both author and title cards. A separate subject catalogue can be consulted in the

Assistant Keeper's Room. Although the British Museum is constantly revising and preparing guides, new printed catalogues for Urdu, Hindi and Panjabi are not planned for the near future.²² Information on the collection is obtainable from Mr. J.H. Eisenegger, Officer-in-Charge Student's Room, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum.

Proscribed pamphlets in the British Museum and India Office Library are just beginning to be made available to scholars. The India Office initially locked their collection in cupboards and transferred the tracts to boxes and crates after 1947. It is anticipated that the collection will be organized and catalogued following completion of the India Office Library's move to new facilities on Blackfriars Road.²³ The British Museum apparently set aside its confidential collection until the summer of 1967, but as soon as the tracts can be examined and bound, they will be open to the public.²⁴ The only guide to the proscribed books in the two libraries is correspondence between London and India. The India Office proceedings (Judicial and Public, Register and Record) refer to controversial material transferred from India, as do the files of provincial correspondence in the archives of the British Museum. Frequently, this correspondence also contains descriptions of pamphlets, background of authors, and brief translations of "seditious" sections.

Survey of Important Tracts

The size and organization of the collections make a detailed evaluation of their contents extremely difficult. Analysis of the tracts' value for research would be equally pretentious because use of vernacular sources depends on the interests and question of individual scholars. Despite these limitations, an introductory statement on the tracts is needed to highlight the types of information available in hitherto unexploited source materials. This section introduces a selection of works which the author considers particularly significant. The discussion should stimulate additional research in the Hindi, Urdu, and Panjabi collections and serve as a select guide to over a hundred pamphlets.

Information on pamphlets was gathered from printed guides,

card catalogues, and the quarterly lists of books published in the Punjab (1868-1900). Besides comments on the relevance of books for specific problems and issues, the following bibliographical data will be provided wherever possible: author and title, place of publication (BM or IOL references), and number of pages. Transliteration and approximate English versions of titles are based on the system of romanization and translation in the British catalogues. Only a few tracts were examined in detail or translated.

Discussion of tracts by Punjabi authors is organized around several themes or processes important during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although little is known about Punjab society in the Sikh or early British periods, recent autobiographies and research suggest that the socio-political system in the western, central, and eastern districts were composed of different groups and communities undergoing varying rates of change. Cleavages ran along lines of religion, class, and caste.²⁵ New ideas, institutions, and challenges accompanying the British affected that change and gave it new twists. Vernacular pamphlets (biographies, autobiographies, histories of localities and castes, comments on social structure and reform) provide information on the nature of Punjab society and how it was changing. The literature on the Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh communities also affords insight into internal and external developments of Punjab religious groups. Those developments reflect similar elements and problems: identity formation, reform and revivalism, incorporation or rejection of western institutions, strengthening or redefining of old relationships with other Punjabis. Finally, tracts are valuable sources on the politicization of the Punjab. In addition to new political activities within caste and religious groups, two dominant patterns began to appear which remain significant until the present: political identification and organization by class with little regard for religious differences (participation in local, provincial, or nominally "secular" organizations such as the Congress) and communal politics (either sporadic conflict over immediate issues or sustained confrontation between organisations and movements). The tract literature throws light on the factors, personalities, and institutions involved in the formative period of a westernized political system.

Histories and Biographical Studies

The introduction of the printing press and western interest in history helped foster the development of a historical literature in nineteenth-century Punjab. Although a few of the resulting books on Punjab history were published in English, most accounts tend to be in Urdu, Hindi, or Panjabi.²⁶ Histories of towns, districts, and states are numerous. One example of a district study is Murad Ali's commentary on Hazara *Tarikh-i-Tanawaliyan*. Lahore: 1878. Urdu. 83 pp. IO Urdu 754).²⁷ Princely states also received attention, as exemplified by Diwan Ramjas's history of Kapurthala (*Tawarikh-i-Kapurthalah*. Lahore: 1897. Urdu. 2 pts. BM 14109.bb.9) and Muhammad Hasan Khan's history of Patiala (*Tarikh-i-Patialah* Amritsar: 1878. Urdu. 7, 26, 788 pp. IO 306. 23.C.30). Among district histories are those on Dera Ghazi Khan (Munshi Hetu Ram, *Gul-i-Bahar*, Lahore: 1873. Urdu. 4, 338pp. IO 306, 23.C-11), Gujarat (Mirza Azam Beg, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*. Lahore: 1870. Urdu. 600 pp. IO 306.22-E. 1), and Sialkot (Abd-us-Samad Ghulam Muhammad. *Tawarikh-i-Sialkot*. Sialkot: 1887. Urdu. 124 pp. BM 14109. b. 31).

Punjabis also began to write caste histories or accounts of incidents affecting the history of their religious community. Caste organizations sponsored "scientific" studies of the origin of their *jati* to defend particular points of view or to legitimize claims about status. For example, Sant Ram published an account of Sud history (*Tawarikh-i-Kaum-i-Sudan*. Hoshiarpur: 1903. Urdu. 44pp. BM 14119 cc. 6) and Mohan Lal wrote "A History of Aroras" (*Tawarikh Jati Arora Bans*. Lahore : 1896. Panjabi. 10,24 pp. 10 Panjabi 1524). A comparison of Khatri and Brahmans in the Punjab is Tulasi Ram's *Zati Bibhaq* (Amritsar : 1877. Urdu. 11pp. 10 Urdu 846). Similarly, religious groups rewrote their history or published tracts on specific events in their past. One illustration of the literature, to be examined in detail in subsequent sections, is an account of how Sikh women who fell into Muslim hands were rescued by Sikh cavalry (*Sundari Jide Dardanak Samachar Ar Purabhal Khalsae Di Bahadari* [Bhai Vir Singh] Amritsar : 1898. Panjabi. 148 pp. BM 14162. ee. 3).

Although the British Museum and India Office Library acquired only a small proportion of Punjab biographies, the collections include

many interesting items.²⁸ The lives of religious leaders were favourite subjects. Muslims biographers wrote sketches on local theologians such as Muhammad Abu al-Mansur of Delhi (Muhammad Nusrat al-Din 'Ali. *Kalimat al-Haoo*. Delhi : 1870. Urdu. 32pp. 10 Urdu 912) and well-known individuals such as Sayid Ahmad Shahid who conducted *jihad* in western Punjab (Muhammad Ja'far. *Tawarikh-i-Ajiba Mausum ba Sawanih-i-Ahmadi*. Delhi : 1891. Urdu. 338pp. 10 Urdu 1153, BM 14109. c. 24).²⁹ Dayanand and his Punjabi followers received similar attention from Hindu biographers. Lajpat Rai wrote an extensive volume on Dayanand (*Dayanand Aur Unka Kam*. Lahore: 1898. Hindi. 475. BM 14156. fff. 1) and was himself the subject of biography *Lajpat Rayaji Ki Atma Katha*. Lahore : 1932. Hindi. 223pp. BM 14156. ggg. 55. Shrivastav Navajadikakal. *Lajpat Raya*. Simla : 1920. 10 Hindi B.846).³⁰ Other Arya Samajists discussed by biographers include Lekh Ram (Munshi Ram. *Arya Pathik Lekhram*. Kangri : 1914. Hindi. 208 pp. BM 14156. ggg. 23(2), Guru Datta (Nihal Chand Bhandari. *Uniswin Sadi Ka Sachcha Shahid*. Ferozepur: 1891. Urdu. 319pp. 10 Urdu 1157), and Munshi Ram (*Kalyan-Marga Ka Pathik*. Benares : 1924. Hindi. iv, iv, 215pp. BM 14157. k. 6).³¹ The life of a public figure opposing the Aryas, Satyanand Agnihotri, has also been written (*Sawanih-i-Umri*. Lahore : 1889. Urdu. 30pp. BM 14106. d. 17). Finally, miscellaneous autobiographies include that of a Sikh police Officer (Sardar Bishan Singh *Tajribat-i-Hind*. Amritsar : 1897. Urdu. 260pp. 10 Urdu 1196), a hospital assistant, Chandu Lal (*Sawanih-i-Umri*. Lahore : 1906. Urdu. 75 pp. BM 14109. aaa. 12), and recollections of a Sikh student's trip to Europe (*Ik Panjabi Singh di Vilayati Sair*. Amritsar : 1899. Panjabi. 52pp. 10 Panjabi 1583).

Social Customs and Reform

Social reform was a common feature in nineteenth-century Punjab. Individuals or societies published speeches, treatises, or fiction emphasizing social evils and calling for change. Several tracts examine general problems in Punjab society. Gurmukh Singh's lecture on the necessity for altering traditional religious and social patterns *Sudhararak*. Lahore : 1888. Panjabi. 84pp. BM 14162. i. 13) is a gauge of the issues and problems confronting reformers in

Lahore. The proceedings of the Gujranwala Reform Society contain data on reform in an earlier period (*Anjuman-i-Faizan-i-Am*. Gujranwala: 1869. Urdu. 14pp. 10 Urdu 878), while Wazir Chand Khushbash's stories on "social vices" illustrate the didactic literature circulating among the educated classes *Asrar-i-ajaiabat*. Lahore: 1894. Urdu. BM 14112. a. 50).

The condition of women in the Punjab is a frequent theme in tracts. The acceptance of Purdah by Punjabi Hindus came under attack (Gujar Mal. *Parda Sistam*. Jullundur: 1895. Urdu. 18pp. 10 Urdu 1181), as did reluctance to educate females (Umrao Singh. *Ta'lim-i-Niswan*. Ambala: 1904. Urdu 51pp. BM 14119. aa.5). Muslims in turn chided their co-religionists for accepting Hindu views on widow marriage (Abdul Rahman, *Randon Ki Shadi*. Lahore: 1874. Urdu. 28pp. 10 Urdu 595). Hindus also were concerned over remarriage. Jivar Das, for example, published a provocative dialogue between two Hindu widows on their unhappy predicament (*Do Hindu Bewaon Ki Batchit*. Lahore 1891. Urdu. 16pp. 10 Urdu 1185). Reformers from both religions called for general reform of marriage customs and attitudes toward women (Muhammad 'Abdal-Majid. *Mazmun-i-Pand-i-Mashhun*. 2d. ed., Delhi: 1894. Urdu. 40 pp. 10 Urdu 1166. Karam Chand. *Islah-i-Bewah-i-Qaum-i-Hunud*. Lahore: 1895. Urdu. 58 pp. 10, Urdu 1194. Ram Dass. *Nuosanat-i-Shadi-i-Sighr Simni* Ludhiana: 1892. Urdu. 10 Urdu 1151).

Tracts also contain information on reform and social conflict within Hindu castes. For example, the Muhials, a sub-caste of Saraswat Brahmans traditionally employed in the army or bureaucracy, published pamphlets on reform in Rawalpindi district (Kanshi Ram *Majmua-i-Rasumat Shadi Wa Ghami Muta' laga Qaum-i-Muhyal*. Rawalpindi: Urdu. 8 pp. BM 14110. b. 39. *Majmua-i-Rusumat-i-Shadi-o-Ghami*. Rawalpindi: 1895. Urdu. 8pp. 10 Urdu 1178). Other tracts on Brahmins include an account of a Kashmiri Pandit outcasted for eating and smoking with Muslims (*Halat-i-Janki Nath*). Amritsar: 1875. Urdu. 38 pp. 10 Urdu 694) and four short stories on reform among Kashmiri sub-castes (Siva Narayan. *Mukhtasar Hikayat Ka Silsilah*. Lahore: 1894. Urdu BM 14112 a. 46). Similar tracts are available on other castes, such as *Rusumat-i-Shadi*. (Delhi: 1875. Urdu 24. pp. 10 Urdu 761), a

list of marriage expenses agreed upon by Agarwala merchants in Delhi.

Developments among Panjabi Hindus

Punjab tracts can be divided into Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh sections for purposes of analysis, but in fact the pressures and processes affecting the urban classes who formed organizations and carried out reform or equalist programmes were approximately the same. Christian missionaries and their some time allies, the British government, threatened indigenous religions and accentuated problems of identity. This threat, when compounded by contact with western political, social, and religious values in education and new occupations, contributed to divisions within each religious community and conflict between traditional and "modern" styles of life. Tension between communities also spread, so much so at times that cleavages within groups were bridged in response to common external threats. It is within this context of shifting values, identity crisis, and conflict that utilization of vernacular sources becomes crucial. Many of the basic processes are reflected in the tracts of the period.

Except for occasional reform or religious treatises, most of the Hindu pamphlets tend to pivot on the activities of sects and organizations, notably the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj. The Bengali dominated Brahma Samaj furnished the chief Hindu pamphleteers prior to 1877. Brahmans published Vedantist tracts and translated Bengali works into Urdu (Raja Ram. *Talim-ul-Iman*. Lahore 1879. Urdu. 10 Urdu 905).⁸³ They also printed material critical of Hinduism such as Jivan Singh's *Ved Prakash* (Amritsar : 1877 Urdu. 8 pp. 10 Urdu 850) and Harinam Chandra Joshi's *Hindu Dharma Vivardhan* (Lahore : 1874. Hindi. 56 pp. 10 Hindi 1130) which aroused a strong response from more conservative Punjabis (e. g., Pandit Sardha Ram, *Dharam Raksha*. Ludhiana : 1876. Urdu. 120 pp. 10 Urdu 760). Other Punjabis banded together in a Dharm Sabha to protect Hinduism from changes suggested by the Brahma Samaj (Proceedings of the Amritsar Dharm Sabha, *Dharm Sabha*. Lahore : 1873. Urdu. 2 pts. 10 Urdu 599). The continual disputes over religion and society and the concomitant alienation of Brahmans from the main stream of Hindu

thought in the Punjab formed the backdrop for the ascendancy of the Arya Samaj after 1877.

Fortunately for historians, the Aryas were great publicists. Their tracts, which once stirred arguments and dissension, now serve as source material on almost every aspect of the Samaj's role in Punjab public life. In addition to collections of hymns, rituals, and religious essays, the organization published editions of Dayananda's "Light of Truth" (e. g., the Panjabi version of Lala Atma Ram. *Satyarth Prakash*. Lahore : 1889. B.M. 14162. aaa. 1), descriptions of Dayanand's early debates (Bakhtawar Singh. *Satyadharma Vichara*. Benares 1880. Hindi. 39 pp. BM 14154. c. 1.), and sets of rules and bylaws (*Arya Samajon ke Niyam Aur Upniyam*. Moradabad : 1897. Hindi. 10 pp. BM 14156. d. 7. *Char Upaniyam Ka Sangraha*. Meerut : 1897. Hindi. 98 pp. BM 14156. d. 7).³⁴ Although the latter two tracts were not published in the Punjab they contain constitutional arrangements affecting Punjab branches of the Samaj. Another major Arya activity was reinterpretation of history and Hindu scripture, exemplified by Kishan Chandra's "proof" that Buddhist Pandits actually wrote the Purans (*Puran Kis ne Banae*. Lahore : 1893. Urdu. 8 pp. 10 Urdu 850) and Munshi Ram's defence of the approach to Vedic studies preached by Dayanand (*Subah-i-Ummed*. Lahore : 1898. Urdu. BM 14106. b. 32). Arya writing also throws light on the formative experience of the movement. For example, essays on meat-eating (Bhola Nath. *Risala Ham Gosht Khaen Ya Ghas Phuns*. Amritsar : 1894. Urdu. 57 pp. 10 Urdu 904. Naryanan Das. *Ham, Hamare Karya Aur Bakre*. Amritsar : 1893. Urdu. 56pp. 10 Urdu 630. Atma Rama. *Mans Bhakshan Nishedha*. Jullundur : 1892. Urdu. 84 pp. 10 Urdu 1189) reflect the intense struggle going on within the Samaj for control of its institutions. A second pamphlet on Lekh Ram, "Another Blow to the Vedic religion, But Really an Infusion of New Life into the Arya Samaj", examines the significance of his assassination in 1897 for the future of the Samaj (*Vedak Dharam Ko Ek Eur Dhakka Laga, Lekin Arya Samaj Men Hai Zindagi Dal Gaya*. Jullundur : 1897. Urdu. 83 pp. BM 14106. b. 32).³⁵

The murder of Lekh Ram is related to another Arya activity documented by tracts, Samaj attempts to defend itself and attack

religious opponents. Besides supporting social reform, education, and preaching missions, the Arya Samaj systematically produced propaganda and controversial literature. Certain themes run through Arya tracts, such as attacks on Brahmins (Buta Ram. *Zulam Ka Pahla Hissa*. Amritsar · 1894. Punjabi. 8pp. 10 Panjabi 1569) or conservative Hindus (Mathra Das. *Arya Darshan*. Lahore : 1879. Urdu. 12pp. 10 Urdu 865). Occasional tracts aimed at undermining the Sikh religion and winning Sikhs over to Hinduism. For example, Thakar Dass wrote "The Sikhs are Hindus" (*Sikh Hindu Hain*. Hoshiarpur : 1899. Punjabi. 80pp. BM 15106. b. 27), while another Arya, Radha Kishen, assailed Sikhism and the Gurus in "Rescript of Granthi Phobia" *Nuskah-i-Granthi-Fobia* Lahore 1889. Urdu. 40 pp. BM 14106.a.19).³⁶ Other series of pamphlets were on the activities of colourful religious leaders. The perennial attacks by an Arya opponent, Satyanand Agnihotri, evoked a variety of responses from Aryas (e.g., Murli Dhar, *Satya Asatya Prakasha*, Lahore : 1891. Urdu, 54pp. 10 Urdu 1148). Lekh Ram single-handedly turned out a large number of tracts. Among his targets were Ahmadis "(An Exposure of the False Teachings of the Ahmadis," *Ibtal-i-Basharat-i-Ahmadiyah*. Jullundur : 1897. Urdu 48pp. BM 14104. ee. 27), Christians "Reply to the Criticism by Rev. T. Williams on the Doctrine of Widow Marriage." *Masala-i-Nivog Par Padri T. Williams Ke P'tiraz Ka Jawab*. Jullundur : 1893. Urdu. 32pp. BM 14104 ee. 32), Muslims in general ("A Treatise on War or the Foundation of the Muslim Religion," *Risala-i-Jihad Yani Din-i-Muhammadi Ki Bunyad*. Lahore : 1892. Urdu. 64pp. 10 Urdu 1169), Hindus (*Rah-i-Nijat, Yani Mukti Marg*. Jullundur : 1894. Urdu. 34pp. 10 Urdu 850), and fellow Aryas "(How Can Peace Be Brought about in the Arya Samaj, and True Account of Ram Chandra, "Arya Samaj Men Shanti Phailane Ka Asli Upao Aur Ram Chander Ji Ka Sachcha Darshan. Jullundur : 1893. Urdu. 40pp. 10 Urdu 846. BM 14106. a. 43).³⁷

The India Office Library and British Museum have representative collections of tracts which both generated and were responses to Arya propaganda. The names of Agnihotri's books indicate the ferocity with which he assaulted the Arya Samaj: "The Iron-Age Religion of Dayanand" (*Dayanandi Kuljugi Mahzab*. Lahore : 1887. Urdu. 24pp.

BM 14106. a. 17), "The Great Pope's Samaj" (*Maha Popon Ki Samaj* Urdu 12pp, BM 14106. a. 17), and "The Audultery Inculcated by Dayanand's Interpretation of the Vedas" (*Dayanandi Vedon Men Zinahkari Ki Ta'lim*, Urdu. 14pp. BM 14106. a. 18). Sikh tracts include Mohan Singh's "An Example of Dayanand's Religion" *Dayanandi Dharam Ka Namuna*. Amritsar : 1900. Panjabi. 8pp. BM 14162. aaa. 3), Jawahir Singh's "In Refutation of a Falsehood, entitled Remedy to Saraswati Phobia" (*Risala-i-Radd-i-Butlan, al-Ma'ruf ba Taryaq-i-Saraswati Fobia*. Lahore; 1889. Urdu. 78pp. BM 14106. a. 19), and Amar Singh's "Disrespect of the Leaders of Various World Religions by the Arya Samaj and Its Founders" (*Arya Samaj Aur Uske Bani Ki Taraf Se Dunya Ke Mukhtalif Hadiyan-i-Mazhab Ki Be'Izzati*. Lahore : 1890. Urdu. 36pp. BM 14106. z. 18)³⁸ Despite its subsequent role as defender of Hinduism, the Arya Samaj initially came under severe criticism from the Hindu community, as illustrated by Budhu Ram's denunciation of Arya views on marriage (*Dayanandi Shadi* Lahore ; 1889. Urdu. 32pp. BM 14106. a. 18) and Jagannath Das's satirical poem on the errors of Dayanand (*Dayananda Mat Darpan*. Amritsar : 1900. Panjabi 16pp. BM 14145. cc. 6.).³⁹ In addition to broad attacks on Aryas by Muslim tracts such as Muhammad Khalil's "No Salvation for the Aryas" (*Adam-Najat-i-Arya*. Ludhiana : 1893. Urdu. 8pp. 10 Urdu 649), Ghulam Ahmad and his followers at Qadian produced many controversial works charging the Aryas with activities ranging from adultery to sedition.⁴⁰

The emergence of caste associations among Punjabi Hindus is a final activity discussed in the Hindu vernacular tracts. Importance of the associations varied with each caste, but they served as links between clusters of Hindus stretching across the Punjab and even outside the province. Two newspapers contain information on social and political developments among the Hindu trading castes, the *Kayastha Mitra* (Lahore, 1891-1893. Urdu. app. 900 pp. BM 14119. c. 40) and the *Arora Vansha Samachar* (Lahore, 1884-1885. Pnnjabi. app. 150 pp. BM 14162.i.11). Data on Punjabi participation in caste conferences is found in reports of meetings held at Delhi in 1898 (*Riport Vaisya Mahasabha* Meerut: 1899. Hindi. 73pp. BM 14156.d.19), and at Agra in 1898 and 1899 (*Rajput Mahasabha*. Agra: 1899. Hindi. 12,27pp.

BM 14156. d. 19). "The Garden of Usefulness to Bunjahis" (*Gulzar-i-Fawaid Bunjahian*. Lahore: 1879. Urdu. 31 pp. IO Urdu 846) is a rare account of internal caste politics. The tract describes the effort of Bunjahi Khatri to keep their daughters from marrying into clans (Dhaighar, Chheghar) which claim to be superior to the Bunjahi. Other tracts on castes include a report of a meeting of the Punjab Sarin Sabha in a 1889. (*Riport*, Lahore, 1890, Urdu 52pp. BM 14119.b.33) and social rules operative among Khatri and Kayasthas in the Punjab *Qawaid-i-Dawat-i-Kaithan*. Lahore: 1874. Urdu. 4pp IO Urdu 582).⁴¹

Developments among Punjabi Muslims

A survey of vernacular publications suggests surprisingly that much of the intellectual ferment in the Punjab prior to the 1880's came from the Muslim community rather than from Hindus or Sikhs. Initially, this ferment was generated in large part by internal disputes and threats posed by Christian missionaries, but by the the 1870's many tracts reflected growing concern with the general state of Islam and the need for reform. These recurrent themes were also represented in Muslim efforts to establish reform and cultural associations.

At least three divisions within the Muslim community stimulated theological debate and pamphleteering. First, the Sunni-Shia split in the Punjab produced controversial tracts such as Hafiz Mahmud's reply to Shia claims concerning Muharram (*Izhar-al-Haqq was Sawab*. Lahore: 1872. Urdu. 92pp. IO Urdu 534) and a defence of Shia doctrines by Faiz al-Haqq (*Faiz-i-Amm*. Ludhiana: 1873. Urdu. 164pp. IO Urdu 530).⁴² The temporary resurgence of the Wahabis, or the followers of Wali Ullah, during the first decades following annexation also provoked a war of words and occasional riots. The India Office Library and the British Museum contain literally hundreds of tracts on Wahabi activities.⁴³ Another revivalist sect appeared in the Punjab in the late 1880's and accentuated internal divisions among Muslims, the Ahmadiyahs led by Ghulam Ahmad. Ghulam Ahmad's claim to be the "second Christ" (*Barahin Ahmadiya Hissa-i-Suwan*. Lahore: 1892. Urdu. BM 14104. g. 9. *Kashf-al-Ghita*. Lahore: 1898. Urdu. 43pp. BM 14105. e. 1) and the call for Muslim unity under his leadership (*Fath-i-Islam*. Amritsar : 1891.

Urdu. IO 306.26.A.15) stirred a fierce reaction (e.g., Muhammad 'Abd Allah. *Shifa al-Nas*. Delhi: 1892. Urdu. 96pp. IO Urdu 1169).

In addition to internal dissension, Muslims in the Punjab were confronted with external challenge. Although several tracts on Hindu-Muslim relations were written before the 1880's, examination of the vernacular literature in that period suggests that the main threat to Islam was considered to be Christianity. Muslims published tracts against missionaries and sent out street preachers to debate with English or Punjabi Christians. Two immediate threats to Muslims seem to have been circulation of anti-Islamic treatises by Carl G. Pfander, a German missionary who published among other things the controversial *Mizan-al-Haqq* (reprinted Ludhiana: 1867. Urdu. BM 14104.c 13), and the creation of propaganda agencies by Punjabi converts.⁴⁴ Muslim theologians were important in the contest between Islam and Christianity. For example, Delhi writers quickly challenged the tracts of Reverend Imad-ud-Din (Muhammad Abu al-Mansur. *Uqubat-al-Zallin*. Delhi: 1875. Urdu. 195pp. IO Urdu 728. *Lah-i-Daudi*, Delhi: 1872. Urdu 32pp. IO Urdu 532). Interesting accounts of religious debates between Muslims and Imad-ud-Din are in Ahmad Hasan, *Nusrat-i-Ahmadiyah*, Delhi: 1873. Urdu. 12pp. IO Urdu 535) and Illahi Bakhsh's *Dini Mubahasah* (Lahore: 1874. Urdu. 56pp. IO Urdu 592).

Tracts on the reform and revival of Islam began to appear from the 1870's onward. Punjabi Muslims explored various avenues for adapting their religious and social ideas to a new environment beset by western ideas, Christian proselytization, and Hindu revival. Syed Ahmad Khan was among the first to point out the dangers of not meeting new challenges, and his warnings soon found echo among Muslim intellectuals. For example, as early as 1877 Delhi Muslims held a public meeting to discuss religion and its application to daily problems (*Anjuman-i-Rashidin-i-Ahl-i-Islam*. Delhi: 1877. Urdu. 20pp. IO Urdu 761), while two decades later Muhammad Shibli Nu'mani published poems and essays on the condition of Islam (*Subah-i-Ummed Aur Musaddas-i-Qaumi*. Lahore: 1892. Urdu. 20pp. IO Urdu 1176). Solutions to Muslim backwardness in education and employment ranged from suggestions on eliminating polytheism and establishing

schools (Khurram Ali. *Nasihab-al-Muslimin*. Delhi: 1888. Urdu. 10 Urdu 647. Siraj al-Din Ahmad. *Talim*. Rawalpindi: 1897. Urdu, 145pp. BM 14119. b.48) too calls for broad reform and revitalization (Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. *Urdu Likchar*. Lahore: 1894. Urdu. 32pp. 12 Urdu 677, Maulvi Muhammad Ismail, *Taqwiyat-al Iman*. Delhi: 1875. Urdu, 226pp, 10 Urdu 677). Other writers felt Islam should reject innovation. These often published tracts on "the decay of morals" or on the dangers of Syed Ahmad Khan's syncretic ideas (e.g., Muharram Ali Chisti. *Izhar-i-Haqq*. Lahore: 1893. Urdu. 18pp. 10 Urdu 649). Debate on the nature of Islam and Islamic tradition also strengthened interest in Pan-Islam, and by the 1890's comparison of Indian Muslims with co-religionists in the Middle East and concern over the Sultanate had become themes in Muslim literature.⁴⁵

The sense of urgency which produced the reform tracts also led to the creation of Muslim cultural and reform organizations.⁴⁶ Two journals in the British Museum contain background on the issues and organizational structures of the new movements. The first, *Isha'at-al-Sunat* (1890-1904) Urdu. app. 1700 pp. BM 14104. eee.1) is a Lahore journal on religion and society edited by Abu Sa'id Muhammad Hussain; the second, the journal of the Lahore Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam (1890. Urdu. 64pp. BM 14104. e. 52) runs only one year but includes membership lists and correspondence. Other general background is in Muhammad Akram's *Intikhab-i-Makhzan* (Lahore : 1906. Urdu. 296pp. BM 14119. aa. 13), a selection of articles from a Muslim magazine edited by an influential Lahore barrister, Abdul Qadir. Several societies published their rules and by-laws : the Anjuman-i-Rifah-i-Ra'aya, a Delhi reform society (*Risala-i-Anjuman-i-Rashidin-i-Alil-i-Islam*. Delhi : 1899. Urdu. 20pp. 10 Urdu 761); the Sialkot Anjuman-i-Islamia (*Dastur-al-a'mal*. Sialkot ; 1890. Urdu. 8pp. BM 14119. b. 33); the Ahmadiya society in Qadian *Anjuman-i-Ahbad*. Qadian : 1898. Urdu. 10 Urdu D 467). The Ahmadiya pamphlet has as appended membership list.

Developments among Punjabi Sikhs

The resurgence of Sikhism culminating in the establishment of a Sikh state in India had its roots in the nineteenth century. Although the processes involved in the revival have not received detailed ex-

mination, several factors seem important. First, like the Hindus and Muslim, the Sikhs were confronted by militant Christianity and revivalist sects of other Punjab religions. As already indicated, attempts by Hindus, and especially Arya Samajists, to bring the dispirited Sikhs into the Hindu fold accentuated the problems of self identification. The Punjab variety of orientalism, as represented by G.W. Leitner and the Anjuman-i-Panjab, also, encouraged fresh study of Panjabi literature and Punjab antiquities (primarily Sikh). The orientalist's re-interpretations of Punjab history (e.g., R.N. Cust, *Waqaya-i-Baba Nanak* Lahore : 1860. Urdu. 24pp. 10 Urdu 884) and Sikh religion aroused debate among Sikh intellectuals. Dr. Ernest Trumpp's translation and commentary on the *Adi Granth* in the 1870's exemplifies the catalytic role of orientalism. Judging the Granth as "incoherent and shallow in the extreme, and couched at the same time in dark and perplexing language, in order to cover these defects," Trumpp prepared an officially-sponsored edition which infuriated the Sikhs and stimulated their own research.⁴⁷ Finally, Sikh memory of recent prestige and power was kept alive by the efforts of Ranjit Singh's son, Dalip Singh, to regain his lost throne *Qazi Aziz Ud-Din Ahmad*. Lahore : 1888. Urdu. 50pp. BM 14162. e. 6), by British campaigns to perpetuate Sikh martial spirit so that the Sikhs would continue to be a source of recruitment, and by sporadic incidents such as the bravery of Sikh soldiers fighting on the north-west frontier (*Saragarhi da Judh*. Amritsar : 1899. Panjabi. 16pp. BM 14162. ee. 6).⁴⁸

A survey of nineteenth-century tracts indicates that the ethos of reform and revival among Sikhs was nourishing ideas and institutions subsequently important in the burst of neo-Sikh activity after 1920. Publication trends reflect a new spirit within the Sikh community. The average number of tracts by Sikhs or on Sikhism during three-month periods increased from approximately 15 in the 1870's to 40 by 1900. More importantly, the content of publications had changed gradually during the three decades. The earlier tendency to publish scriptural texts or standard works had given way by the 1890's to emphasis on Sikh history, religion, and contemporary problems.⁴⁹ Biographies of Gurus were becoming

popular (Rajendra Sinha. *Akhiri Paighambar*, Sialkot : 1894. Urdu. 57pp. BM 14106. bb. 12. Sardar Gurmukh Singh. *Guru Nanak Prakash*. Lahore: 1891. Urdu. 320pp. 10 Urdu 306. 25F. 2.), as were historical tracts with themes of martyrdom (Ditt Singh, *Tara Singh di Shahidi*. Lahore : 1899, Panjabi. 74pp. BM 14162. b. 4. *Shadidian*. 2d. ed. Lahore 1911. Panjabi. 285pp. BM 14162. b. 44. Kartar Singh. *Baba Banda Bahadur da...Sanpuran Britant*. Lahore : 1907. Panjabi. 319pp. BM 14162. fff. 2. Thakar Singh. *Sidki Jivan*. Amritsar : 1908. Panjabi 119pp. BM 14162. eee. 19) and martial achievement (Ditt Singh. *Jagat Sudhar Hushbhak*. Lahore : 1899. Panjabi, 141pp. BM 14162. cc. 2. Amar Singh. *Chamakda Hira Yan Jivan Britant Sardar Hari Singh Ji Nalwa*. Lahore : 1904. Panjabi. 172pp. BM 14162. eee.12. Ditt Singh. *Mirankotie Mahtab Singh di Bahaduri*. Lahore : 1900. Panjabi. 27pp. BM 14162. g. 3. *Jang Muktsar*. Amritsar : 1902. Panjabi. 63pp. BM 14162. ee. 6). Quest for historical identity was accompanied by re-evaluation of Sikh custom and ideology. Sikhs published tracts proclaiming the superiority of Sikhism (Avatar Singh. *Hornan Dharman Nalon Khalsa Dharm Vich Ki Vadha Hai*. Amritsar : 1895 Panjabi. 16pp. 10 Panjabi 1572) and calls for co-religionists to give up "false teachings" (Jodh Singh. *Sacha Dharmi*. Lahore : 1900. Panjabi. 64pp. BM 14162. bb. 7. Ditt Singh. *Nakli Sikh Prabodh*. Lahore : 1893. Panjabi. 99pp. BM 14162. b. 8. Atar Singh. *Bhaundu Sikhian da Ilaj Arthat Naoli Sikh Updesh*. Amritsar : 1902. Panjabi. 100pp. 10 Panjabi 865). Definition of what constituted authentic Sikh doctrines varied with each group of theologians, but at least some Sikhs were determined to separate their religion from close association with the Arya Samaj (Ganda Singh. *Khab-i-Dayanandian*. Amritsar : 1904. Panjabi. 256pp. BM 14106.aa.6) and Hinduism (Bhagat Lakshman Singh. *Ham Hindu Nahin Hain*. Lahore : 1899. Panjabi. 109pp. BM 14154. dd. 12).

Fresh awareness of community and tradition in turn produced at least three new Sikh institutions—the Khalsa College, the Khalsa Tract Society, and the Singh Sabhas. The College served as a centre of intellectual ferment and research on Sikhism, while the Tract Society quickly became the major publisher of controversial material on Sikh history, religion, and relations with other Punjabis.⁵⁰ Many

of the Society's publications are available in London. Other tracts pertain to the Singh Sabha movement, such as the collection of rules for the Amritsar Singh Sabha *Niyam arthat Asul Ate Upniyam arthat Kuvaid Sri Guru Singh Sabha Amritsar Ji de*. Amritsar: 1890. Panjabi 16pp. BM 14162. a. 14) and the Khalsa Directory (*Khalsa Dairektari*, Amritsar: 1899. Panjabi. 206pp. BM 14162. i. 17) which provides names and background of Sikhs prominent in public affairs.

Emergent Political Patterns

Natural divisions within Punjabi society and socio-religious change resulting from western contact molded in large part the political development of the Punjab. Although tracts contain information on most aspects of that development, they are especially valuable for study of two dominant patterns which had begun to emerge by the end of the nineteenth century—political activity based on class or religious interests. In the nascent stages of Punjab politics, these patterns were not exclusive or immutable. Politics reflected the fluid state of urban society as a whole—a time of experimentation and re-evaluation of values, a period of transition from old to new for individuals and groups. Political activity revolved around local issues and local personalities, with shifting alliances and little concern for intellectual consistency. Politicians could defend the interests of urban Punjabis or the Congress one day and the next support a communal position. Nevertheless, the two contradictory commitments were present and influenced behaviour.

The tract literature mirrors Punjabi ambivalence towards politics. With the exception of scattered works such as Nathu Ram Nand's translation of works by Mazzini (*Faraiz-i-Insan*. Lahore: 1892, Urdu. 10 306.26. D.5) and Lajpat Rai's biography of Mazzini (*Duniya ke Maha Purshon Ka Silsila, 1, Mazzini*. Lahore: 1896. Urdu. 210pp. 10 Urdu B 306), most patriotic or nationalist tracts were written in English by a small group of politicians associated with the Lahore Indian Association.⁵¹ Punjabis tended to write about events of local importance as exemplified by Umrao Ali's farce on the Ilbert Bill agitation (*Ilbert Bill*. Lahore: 1893. Urdu. 84pp. 10 Urdu 855) and Sayid Iqbal Ali's account of Syed Ahmad Khan's political tour in the Punjab during 1884 (*Safar-Namah-i-Panjab*. Aligarh: 1884 Urdu. 281pp.10

306,22.D23). Even when the Congress received attention in the press or tracts, its value was disputed. Muslims generally opposed the Congress and the local Congress branch, the Lahore Indian Association, on the grounds that the nationalist organization was pro-Hindu and seditious. The following illustrates the anti-Congress literature circulating between 1887 and 1893: Sham-ud-Din, "Mirror of the National Congress" (*Likchar: Aina-i-National Kangras*, Gurdaspur: 1889, Urdu. 19pp. BM 14119.b.32); "Story of the Congress." *Kangras Kahani*. Gurdaspur: 1888. Urdu. 19pp. BM 14119.a. 19); Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq, "A Plea to the Whole World of Islam" (*Ek Musalman Ki Iltimas Qaum Ki Khidmat men*. Amritsar: 1894. Urdu. 18pp. 10 Urdu 850); Syed Hashim Shah Bukhari, "Muslims Should Keep Away from the National Congress" (*Neshanal Kangras Se Musalmanon Ko Bachna Cahiyee*. Ferozpur: 1888. Urdu. 20pp. BM 14119. c. 37); Muhammad Ikram-ullah, Khasta, "Stanzas by Khasta" (*Musaddas-i-Khasta*. Gujranwala: 1895. Urdu. 20pp. 10 Urdu 1179). Hindus who had previously shown little interest in the Congress now rallied to its defense (Kunwar Sain. *Jawab-i-Likchar* Sialkot: 1890. Urdu. 16pp. BM 14119 b. 32. Nathu Ram Nand. *Tasalsul-i-Nawadis*. 2d. 2ed.; Amritsar: 1897. Urdu BM 14112. bbb. 31. Swami Ala Ram. *Kangras Pukar*. Amritsar: 1893. Hindi. 8pp. 10 Hindi 1542. When the Congress ceased to be an issue, its popularity again dwindled.⁵²

Besides being a source on nationalist politics, the tracts written during the Congress agitation document the communal bitterness and rivalry lying just below the surface of everyday life. Other tracts bear on some of the sources of this latent hostility. First, each community was undergoing a process of self-examination which fostered a recasting of history and strengthened communal identity. Muslims wrote laudatory accounts of former Muslim rule (e. g. Ahmad Din. *Aurangzib*. Lahore- 1894. Urdu 147 pp. 10 Urdu 1176), while Hindus and Sikhs printed tracts on religious martyrs and Muslim atrocities (e.g. Mulk Raj Bhalla. *Bir Ganj*. Lahore: 1893. Urdu 100pp. 10 Urdu 1192. *Bijai Singh, Shahid*. Amritsar: 1900. Panjabi. 115pp. BM 14162.ee.3). Sikhs were particularly active in circulating tales of war with the Mughals (Bir Singh. *Baran-Mah*. Lahore: 1874. Punjabi. 12pp. 10 Panjabi 1537) and anti-Muslim ballads such as a popular version of Mahtab Singh's fight with Massa Rangar who had seized the Golden

Temple (Amar Singh. *Prasang Aduti Bahaduri arthat Masse Rangar di Maut*. 2d. ed; Amritsar: 1921. Punjabi. 16pp. BM 14162. gg.23). The multiplication of polemic literature on religious issues accompanied the spread of communal tendencies. For example, as early as 1852 Shaikh Salim published a harsh satire against Hinduism (*Katha Salwi* Delhi: 1852. Urdu. 8pp. 10 Urdu 1060), and a year later, Maulvi Ubaid Ullah wrote "Refutation of Hinduism" (*Tuhfat-al-Hindi*. Ludhiana: 1853. Urdu. 154pp. 10 Urdu 306.24.B.27) which was reprinted at least six times. Another example of an anti-Hindu tract by a Muslim is Maulvi Muhammad Hussain's "The Sword of the Faqir on the Neck of the Mischievous and the Scimitar of the Sword-Bearer on the Head of the Drunkard" (*Tegh-i-Faqir Bar Gardan-i-Sharir Wa Harba-i-Saifi Bar Sar-i-Kaifi*. Delhi: 1873. Urdu. 348 pp. 10 Urdu 595). Hindu propagandists such as Lekh Ram replied with charges that Islam had spread only through force and conversion and holy war, a claim not unexpectedly drawing a warm Muslim response (Ghulam Nabi. *Haqiqat-i-Asliyat-i-Jihad*. Amritsar: 1893. Urdu. 28 pp. 10 Urdu 649). Muhammad Qasim. *Dafi al-Fasad*. Lahore: 1893. Urdu. 58 pp. 10 Urdu 645). Two final factors irritating communal relations were news from princely states and cow protection agitation. Reports of Hindu or Muslim rulers abusing religious minorities upset their co-religionists in British Punjab and sparked publications such as Jaya Chandra's "Our Parted Brethren" (*Hamare Bichhre Hue Bhai*. Lahore: 1898. Urdu. 14pp. BM 14106.a.41), an Arya tract defending Hindu administration in Kashmir.⁵³ Tension between communities helped produce the cow-protection movement in the 1880's, but as cow protection gained momentum, it became an independent force threatening religious accord. Although Dayanand gave "scientific" reason for saving cows and called for *gaurakshini sabhas* (*Gokarunanidhi*. 3rd. ed.; Allahabad: 1886. Hindi. 24pp. BM 14154. c. 12), the role of Arya Samaj branches in the new associations is not clear. What is evident, however, is the new result of the campaign to stop the butchering and sacrifice of kine. Broadsides, pictures, and tracts such as Kahan Singh's "Lamentations of the Cow" (*Gau Bilap*. Jullundur; 1897. Urdu. 104pp. 10 Urdu 1285) or Swami Ala Ram's *Goupra Goraksha* (Lahore: 1893. Hindi. 67 pp. 10 Urdu 49. C 128) generated fresh conflict. Cow-protection subsided in the Punjab after 1893, but the issue was to appear again in time of acute religious or political crisis.

APPENDIX A

"Story of the Congress"

The following short tract is indicative of the attitudes and images underlying relationships between religious communities in the Punjab. Although the tract was written by a Muslim editor, Mohammed Shams-ud-Din Sadiq, similar accusations and provocative language can be found in Hindu tracts of the period.

Go and Shake the Foundations
of the National Congress

This is a tale for everyone to laugh
About how many people are driven only by the desire for money
About how such people are determined to be seditious
and are talking only of their greatness.

Refrain : Idols are desiring to be God
This is the extent of your greatness.

There is much crookedness in the straight path
Thoughts are rapidly spreading
Thoughts calling on men to do wrong things
Even to fight with the government.

There is a lust for starting a war
A war between the mountain and the mustard seed.
We will comment on this for the welfare of all
Moneylenders should listen to the truth.

The bravery of the Congress is tormenting
The decision is made to confront imperialism
All this is but a sign of self-destruction
Listen, moneylenders—we speak for your own good.

What thing is the Congress, what is this evil
What is reality, what does the Congress really want?
We must also discover what is the real situation
Listen, all men, what is really happening.

The Congress is a name of a committee
Of which Bengalis have laid the foundation
They want to make noise and disturbance,
They claim that they are the men to rule.

With the Bengalis are the Hindus
And on the face of things, there is no difference
They hold meetings everywhere
They both desire their own kingdom.

Gathering up shokpeepers and moneylenders
And sweet sellers and brokers
They will all tie the *dhoti* in the Congress
They all are saying, we will be king.

This is a new thing we are witnessing
An occasion never heard or seen before.
They all ask for kingdoms
Men who sell flour, pulse, oil, and ghee.

Now they say this to the government :
We are suffering because of your misdeeds
Wounds in our hearts are bleeding
You must leave so that we might live.

Governors, pack up your tents and leave
Breath and live in London
Lala Babu has now come
He who does not like English rule.

Congressmen, look at your action
Think what you were prior to now
Consider a little your past
And admit what is your reality.

You have always lived in slavery
And look at your fat faces in the mirror.....how funny
See your big mouths
You look and still ask for a kingdom.

How strange are the affairs of men
Whose soles are falling apart from peddling
Now where are their feet going ?
God, God—where is their courage ?

They are only eaters of potatoes and hash,
Food just enough for sustenance but not action

Men who always eat rice, fish, and curry,
Now they ask for a knife and fork.
It is really a strange thing to see
Men who wretchedly wander from door to door
Always begging for more money, more money
Now they are asking for government accounts.
Who may feel shy seeing death
Who may become afraid of their own wives
If they see a soldier, they become worried
Now they say to the people—we want the right to fight.
Those who can only run from home to a small market
Whose internal reasoning is spoiled
Who get afraid seeing the stoutness of elephants
These men think they can fight Russia.
Men who know only how to sit on mattresses
Or know only the rate of flour and salt
Men who do not really understand what is currently happening
They meditate only on how to hurt the English throne.
Whose fathers and grandfathers had never heard
Of civilization, chairs and stools
Yet they want to sit equally
With those men who are now our kings.
Of whom we know the pedigree
Now they have begun bragging
They have left behind all respect
And are now looking for any reason to revolt.
We used to think of them as thorns and weed,
Men who were happy with shoe-beatings
Now they say, we can do something
Now they say, let us sit on councils.
To eat sweets a mouth is needed
But these men do not have a brain with which to eat
Read this extemporaneous speech to the poor Hindus
What fools are they.

FOOTNOTES

1. Interview with Mr. J. H. Eisenegger, Officer-in-charge, Student's Room, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, August 11, 1967; India Office to British Museum, September 13, 1877, India Correspondence, 1878-1896 (British Museum Archives); interview with Miss E. M. Dimes, India Office Library, August 7, 1967.
2. *A Collection of Statutes Relating to India up to the End of 1887* (2 Vols.; Calcutta: 1913), pp. 214-227, note by C. Bendall, October 1887, India Correspondence, 1878-1896 (British Museum Archives).
3. Memorandum on the Indian press by William Wedderburn, GI (Govt. of India) Public, Feb. 1867, 83-84A. GI proceedings, unless cited otherwise, are from the collection in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.
4. *The Legislative Acts of the Governor General of India in Council for 1867* (Calcutta : 1868), pp 135-140. Also, A. J. Arberry, *The Library of the India Office* (London: 1938), pp. 67-68.
5. Correspondence in GI Public, Jan. 1868, 42-49A; Arberry, *Library*, p. 67.
6. GI to PG (Punjab Govt.), 596, April 13, 1867, GI Public, May 1867, 1-3A.
7. Correspondence between British Museum and India Office, 1877-78, in India Correspondence, 1878-1896 (British Museum Archives); Records and Library, 285 (1884); Books and Publications, March 1884, 1-3A (India Office Records.)
8. Correspondence in the following India Office Records: Books and Publications: Oct. 1885, 1-2A; Records and Library, 1538 (1887); Books and Publications, Aug, 1888, 1-14A.
9. *A Collection of the Acts Passed by the Governor General of India in Council in the Year 1890* (Calcutta: 1890), pp. 153-156. For background on the legislation and problems of acquisition, correspondence in Books and Publications, June 1889, 1A (India Office Records).
10. Documents on Punjab tracts in Punjab Correspondence, 1890-1904 (British Museum Archives).
11. GI to Local Govts. and Agents, 137-1, Jan. 13, 1890, Books and Publications, Feb. 1890, 29-30A.
12. A.H. Diack to Librarian, British Museum, July 3, 1902, Punjab Correspondence, 1890-1904 (British Museum Archives).
13. GI Home-Political to Sec. of State, 1773, Oct. 8, 1914, Register and Records, 3336 (1914); note by F. W. Thomas, Nov. 27, 1914, same file (India Office Records).
14. F.W. Thomas note, Nov. 27, 1914.
15. Note by M. Seton, November 13, 1914 and Despatch 1, Records, Jan. 22, 1915, Register and Records, 3336 (1914).

16. Noting in Register and Records, 3336 (1914) and Keep-With.
17. The author made a rapid hand-count of the Punjab books in the indices. The estimates for the British Museum were determined in the same fashion.
18. Interviews, August, 1967, with Miss E.M. Dimes and Miss J.R. Watson (India Office Library).
19. *Ibid.*
20. These quarterly lists probably form the basic source for a thorough catalogue of Punjab resources in the India Office Library. The British Museum apparently did not keep marked duplicates, and even its collection of printed lists are incomplete.
21. Interview with J.H. Eisenegger, August 11, 1967, British Museum.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Interviews with Miss E.M. Dimes and Miss J. R. Watson (India Office Library).
24. Information kindly supplied by Mr. J.H. Eisenegger and Mr. G.E. Marrison (British Museum).
25. The following contain data on these problems: Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century, 1857-1947* (London : 1961; Ganda Singh (ed.), *Bhagat Lakshman Singh Autobiography* (Calcutta : 1965; V. C. Joshi (ed.), *Lajpat Rai Autobiographical Writings* (Delhi: 1965); Ruchi Ram Sahni, "Self-Revelation of an Octogenarian" (unpub. autobiography in possession of V.C. Joshi, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi); Kenneth W. Jones, "The Arya Samaj in the Punjab : A Study of Social Reform and Religious Revivalism, 1877-1902" (unpub. diss., Univ. of California, 1966).
26. For example, *A Short Account of the Life of Rai Jeewan Lal Bahadur* Late Hon. Magistrate, Delhi (Delhi : 1888. 91 pp. 10 Tract 756); *A Short Ethnographical History of Aror Bans* (Lahore: 1889. 12 pp. 10 Tract 756); Kashi Nath, *History of Munshi Nathmal's Family* (Delhi : 1893. 43 pp. 10 Tract 800). One of the most valuable studies, which hopefully will be edited and republished by the author, is the *Memoir of the Official Career of S.P. Bhattacharjee* (Lahore : 1894, 224 pp.).
27. Guides to towns also contain valuable material on history and social organization. Particularly rich is G.S. Manuel's guide to Delhi (*Rah-Numa-i-Dilhi*. Delhi : 1874, Urdu. 4,488 pp. 10 306. 22. C.9).
28. This generalization based upon a comparison of quarterly publication list with the holdings of both institutions. The Blumhardt catalogues are either broken into sections with biographical material separate or contain detailed subject indices. For example, an easy reference to the Urdu biographies and histories is in Blumhardt's catalogue to India Office Hindustani books, pp. 64-77.

29. An India Office librarian apparently became interested in Muhammed Mansur, and the Library, therefore, contains about fifteen of his publications. This illustrates how personal taste and interests fashioned the character of the London depositories.
30. The India Office Library proceedings and the British Museum archives indicate that there are biographies and autobiographies in the proscribed collections which pertain to nineteenth-century Punjab. For example, biographies of Bhagat Singh, Lajpat Rai, Har Dyal and other Punjabis were shipped to England.
31. Lajpat Rai also wrote two biographies of Guru Datta, *Life and Works of Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi, MA* (Lahore : 1891) and *Guru Datta Vidyarthi Ka Jivancharitra* (Ferozepur : 1892. Urdu. 10 306.26. D.5).
32. The vernacular and English literature on Punjab reform activities is extensive. Introductions to the period are in autobiographies by Lajpat Rai and Ruchi Ram Sahni; an analytic framework for understanding the ethos and some of the institutions is found in Jones's study of the Arya Samaj.
33. Examples of Vedantist tracts which went to several editions are the following: Devi Sahai. *Gita-Sar*. Sialkot : 1874. Urdu. 32pp. IO Urdu 641, Salamat Rai, *Brahma-Vidya-darpana*. Jullundur : 1895. Urdu. 132pp. IO Urdu 1148; Vrajavasi Lal. *Gyan Dipak*. Sialkot : 1874. Urdu. 36pp. IO Urdu 641.
34. These are representative of the devotional material : Munshi Ram. *Arya Sangitamala*. Jullundur : 1900. Hindi. 150pp. BM 14154. cc. 7. Amir Chandra. *Arya Sangita-Pushpavali*. Lahore : 1893. Hindi. 415pp. BM 14154. cc.18 (3).
35. Also on the incident, Banwari Lal. *Pandit Lekh Ram Arya Musafir ka Dharam Par Sachcha Balidan*. Jullundur : 1897. Urdu. 24pp. BM 14106. a. 28 (1) *Silsilah-i-Risalajat-i-Arya Musafir*. Jullundur : 1897. Urdu. BM 14106. a. 28 (1).
26. The relationship between the Arya Samaj and the Sikh Community has not been studied in depth, but it seems likely that at least some groups within the Samaj were active participants in internal Sikh politics such as management of the Golden Temple and location of the Khalsa College. A tract recently translated (Salag Ram Das. *Nunakiya Matanir Naya*. Amritsar : 1877. Hindi. 17pp. IO Hindi 1125) suggests that some Hindus were already trying to win Sikhs over to Hinduism. The Arya Samaj probably just continued the campaign.
37. Other tracts by Lekh Ram include the following *Kulliyat-i-Arya Musafir*. Lahore : 1904. Urdu. 692 pp. BM 14104. eee. 18; *Tarikh-i-Duniya*. Lahore : 1895. Urdu. 64 pp. IO Urdu 1195; *Takzib-i-Barahin-i-Ahmadiya Jild-i-Awwal*. Amritsar: 1890. Urdu. 364 pp. BM 14104. f. 52.
38. Also, Ditt Singh's critical examinations of Dayanand's philosophy, *Dambh Vidaran* (Lahore : 1902) Panjabi. 210pp. BM 14162. aaa. 4).

39. The section in Blumhardt's India Office Hindustani Catalogue (pp. 220-226) contains other similar selections.
40. For example, the following by Ghulam Ahmad : *Sat Bachan Aur Arya Dharm* (Kadiyan : 1896. Urdu. 176, 10, 5, 72,4 pp. BM 14105. f. 3 (1); *Shahnah-i-Nakk* (Amritsar : 1894. Urdu. 88pp. BM 14104. e. 59 (1); *Kadiyan ke Arya Aur Ham* (Kadiyan : 1907. Urdu. 62 pp. BM 14105. d. 1 (5); *Istifta* (Gurdaspur : 1897. Urdu. 34 pp. BM 14105. f. 4 (6)).
41. Although the caste association tracts in the India Office Library and the British Museum tend to be on the United Provinces rather than the Punjab, the quarterly printed list of Punjab publications suggests strongly that such movements were as prominent in the Punjab as in neighbouring provinces. English-language sources for studying this phenomena include the *Kayastha Samachar*, *Journal of the Indian Association* (both in the India Office Library) and the annual reports of the Indian Social Conference (incomplete sets in the British Museum and India Office Library).
42. A survey of some of the disputes and differences is in Muhammad Siddiq's *Gulshan-i-Haqiqat* (Delhi : 1879. Urdu. 196 pp. 10 Urdu 784).
43. For example, the sections on Muslim theology and factions in Blumhardt's Hindustani catalogue (India Office Library), pp. 227-259.
44. The most accessible collection of English-Language sources on these encounters is found in the archives of the Church Missionary Society, London (either the letter books or the printed reports in the CMS *Intelligencer*).
45. Two examples are Muhammad Insha Ullah, *Risala-i-Mafruza Mazalim-i-Armenia wa Dawal-i-Salasa* (Amritsar: 1896. Urdu. 116pp. 10 Urdu 1166) and Mirza Hairat, *Khilafat-i-Usmani* (Delhi : 1901. Urdu. 72pp. 10 Urdu 3109 f). Although the India Office Library and British Museum did not order many of the pre-1900 tracts on Pan-Islam and the Middle East, the number of publications on those topics was steadily increasing in the Punjab.
46. For background on the societies, Shah Din, 'Mohamedan Societies in the Punjab,' *The Indian Magazine*, 1888. pp. 186-92.
47. Ernest Trump, *The Adi Granth or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs* (London : 1877. 715 pp. BM 14162. c. 8), p. vii. Also Bhagat Lakshman Singh, *Autobiography*, 122, 158.
48. Bhagat Lakshman Singh discusses these events in his *Autobiography*. For the relationship with the Sikh community and efforts to maintain a martial spirit, see D. Petrie, *Recent Developments in Sikh Politics*. (Simla : 1911) pp 22-24.
49. Statistics and generalization on content based upon a survey of Punjab publications, 1868-1908. Titles and background information were taken from the quarterly lists of publications in the Punjab (India Office Library).

50. For example, in the July-September quarter of 1896, the Society published 5 books, mostly biographies of Gurus, but by January-March quarter of 1898 (pp. 10-17), the Society was publishing an average of 20 books (in that quarter, volumes were on the Gurus, the Battle of Chamkaur, the need for honesty, sacrifice for religion, bylaws of the Lahore Singh Sabha, morality, and the evils of being converted by Hindus).
51. Based upon a survey of publications in English from the Punjab, 1868-1908. The nationalist tracts include the following : B.C. Pal, *The National Congress* (Lahore : 1887. 28 pp. 10 Tract 666); P.C. Mazoomdar, *Words of Advice to Young Punjabis* (Lahore; n.d. 21pp. 10 Tract 705); Lajpat Rai, *Open Letters to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan* (Lahore : 1888. 23 pp. 10 Tract 710); Dyal Singh, *Nationalism* (Lahore : 1898. 11pp. 10 Tract 769); Lal Chand, *An Essay on the Decline of Native Industries* (Lahore : 1894. 31 pp. 10 Tract 790).
52. Background and translation of two of the Tracts in N.G. Barrier, "Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1870-1890," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* (forthcoming, Spring, 1968). Also, see the appended tract at the end of this essay.
53. Also in English, *The Kashmir Conspiracy* (Lahore : 1890. 92 pp. 10 Tract 901); J.C. Bose, *The Maharajah of Cashmere* (Calcutta; 1893. 172 pp. 10 Tract 1015).

Panjab Past and Present : A Cultural Retrospect

N. D. AHUJA*

Necessity, they say, is the mother of invention; invention a sign of progress. No Society can afford to remain static, much less the stout Punjabis. Historic necessity brought forth an inevitable evolution of art and culture in the Punjab. This land has been on the road-path of multi-race invaders and can deservedly be called the 'door-way' between the West and the East. The Aryans, the Persians, the Greeks the Scythians, Parthians, Ionians, Bactrians, Huns, Arabs, Turks, Mongols and the Afghans—all came over in regular currents and left their imprint here. The Britishers were not slack in recognizing the importance of this area. Each race left behind a deposit or sediment. This sediment came out as a resultant precipitate of a chemical compound of diverse religions, languages and customs. What is this compound? —the culture of our land—which affected our civilization too. Both progressed arm-in-arm. It is this trail that we are proud of and call it as a 'Punjabi heritage'. It is not grooved but cosmopolitan; it is not secluded though secular; it is ever budding and spontaneous. It is not one culture but an impact of several cultures; the interlocking of various ideas; an evolution of ages.

No picture of Punjab's civilization would be complete without a mention of Sohan Culture and Indus Valley Civilization. The finds at Guler, Bilaspur, Daulatpur, Dehra, Nalagarh, Rupar, Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro have taken back our history by hundreds of years more. Some are apt to call it as a part of Sumerian, Mesopotamian or Babylonian civilization, while some others call it as an indigenous Sone civilization. Leaving apart all controversy, we may take it as a distinct and developed Punjab Civilization which may have been affected to some extent owing to the frequent intercourse of various civilizations. Unifacial choppers, pebble hand axes, chert, jasper, chalcedony, shapely stones, pastoral implements of bone as at Kili Gul Mohammad (in

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Pakistan) followed by pottery and metal, microliths, copper axes, reddish ware, painted designs, e. g., at Rupar, Kot Diji, Amri and Lohri reveal the historical evolution of chalcolithic culture and a progressive society in this region. The growth of culture resulted in further developments leading to a Harappan-Mohen-jo-darian Ruparian civilization in the Punjab. Harappa is situated on the banks of Ravi in the Montgomery district of the Punjab (W.P.) and Mohen-jo-daro, i.e., "the city [heap or mound] of the dead" is 400 miles further down in the Larkana District of Sind. Cunningham first unearthed pots and stone implements at Harappa and was later followed in this "peep and find" campaign by Daya Ram Sahni. In 1904, painted pottery was found at Nal in Kalat State in Baluchistan. We could not have clear picture of the Harappa houses and other buildings as Harappa has been a brick-quarry and a source of railway-ballast for a long time. At present, an Italian, a French and a Japanese teams are engaged in unrevelling the persistant mystery of this land. The remains of this civilization have been found even at Rupar and in the Ganges valley as well. Mohen-jo-daro has, however, presented to us (thanks to the efforts of Dr. B. D. Bannerjee) better remains of a finally built city of 3rd millenium B.C. I am afraid, it would take too long to narrate the complete archaeological finds at these places, but we can surely and rightly feel proud of our rich heritage. Burnt bricks for residential houses, utilitarian structures, sanitation schemes, ring-wells, baths, privis, water-wells, soak-pits, pipes, sullage jars, covered and underground drainage, sanctity of bull, artistic figurines, statuettes, seals, scales, metallic implements and blades, etc. etc., testify to the prevalence of a highly mature and rich civilization in the ancient Punjab. The glory was maintained in the succeeding Rig-vedic and later Vedic periods as well as under the Iranians, Greeks, Mauryans, Sungas, Kushans, Guptas, Hunas, Puspabhutis, Vardhamanas, Rajputs, Gurjars, Sahis, Turks, Moghuls, Sikhs and the British when Punjab, inspite of change of masters, continued to swing high and on, and presented a panorama of pannels through the paths of history.

We may turn to the fields of Art and Architecture. "The history of Art involves a dual history. It is the history of men seen through their creations. It is also the history of the creations themselves." By

examining the art of the past we study the men of the past, using works of art as documents which we interpret according to our understanding of visual language. The multi-colour picture of our Art and Architecture and its wide range are on account of the age-long action and reaction of various schools of Arts. Here we got Graeco-Indo, Indo-Saracenic and Dome-Spiro Art blended dexterously. At one time Gandhara school of arts was supreme in the Punjab. It could be readily distinguished from other indigenous schools at Sanchi, Mathura, Sarnath and Avanti. True to the Punjabi nature and environments, the Gandhara sculptors revelled in rich carving, elaborate ornamentation and complex symbolism as against the simplicity and restraint in the purely indigenous Indian Art. Ancient Gandhara, as we know, included in it Peshawar, Buner, Swat, Bajaur, Afghanistan, Chitral, Kashmir and Punjab bounded below by river Sutlej. The great province "glistened with golden foundations and yellow monastic robes." The excavations at Dargai, Jamalgarhi and Charsada, etc., provide a proud view of our ancestral master-minds. Various armaments, implements, instrumental pieces, cult-objects and jewellery, as well as articles of toilet accord a commendation certificate to the artistic hands and genius of those times. The Mahayana form of Budhism was a moving spirit behind Gandhara school. Later, the Bhakti cult became the life of another school of art which developed in the Punjab and is called the "Kangra School of Painting". In it sensuous delight is interposed with spiritualism. The theme is generally Puranic with a fingering towards the "Great Reality." The pantheism, the relation of the lover and the beloved, and the craving for blissful "Union" are artistically given expression to. Kangra art is, more or less, an offshoot of the famous Rajpur School which Tod extols so much in his *Annals*. The credit of patronage of this hill-art goes to the Rajas of Guler, Tira-Sujanpur, Nurpur and Nadaun with a lion's share for Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra. This art infiltrated into the interior of Himachal region particularly Jammu, Chamba, Kullu, Bilaspur, Nalagarh, Tehri-Garhwal, Mandi, Suket and Baijnath and was popularly called as 'Pahari Painting', which is further sub-divided into Kangra School and Dogri or Basohli. This art is established to be pre-Mughal in its setting, but is developed remarkably in the Punjab Hill States during the Mughal period—more particularly in 17th and

18th centuries. Both the subjects and the style thereof magnetically attract our appreciation.

Attention was drawn to these characteristic schools of painting by Moorecraft, A.J. French, W.G. Archer, Coomaraswamy, Ajit Ghosh, S. N. Gupta, etc., in their own way, yet the major credit for bringing this characteristic art to limelight goes to Dr. M. S. Randhawa, D. Sc., I.C.S. He is a noted Punjabi, one-in-three, i.e., a scholar, art-critic and administrator who has been honoured with chairmanship of a six-member Committee set up by the Govt. of India on 27.10.1968, to make recommendations for improving the functioning of Central Museums. He did a grandiose service not only to the lovers of Art, but also to the Punjabi culture by producing his five classic monographs on the subject, published for the first time in a systematic series by the National Museum of India. These Monographs—the first skilful and scholarly production—are a source of delight to the art connoisseurs in Punjab, India and abroad. The Albums presented by him, after a great cost and inconvenience, depict the masterly diffusion of the traditional art into the esoteric. The paintings incidentally mark the growth of Punjabi Art as well as the adaptability of the Punjabis. Coming from village Bodal, in the one time Hoshiarpur district of the sub-montane Punjab, he was “fascinated by the mellow beauty of its landscape, low hills and pleasant valleys studded with charming hamlets”. Being a lover of Kangra paintings almost from his childhood he “undertook strenuous and at times difficult journeys” to collect his treasure-pieces of paintings. He felt his “spirit in deep kinship” with the scenic beauty of Punjab hills and the simple people depicted in these paintings. A versatile genius, he interpreted these lively paintings with detached scholarship and artistic flavour. He is the first Punjabi critic of art who has earned gratitude of his countrymen for the careful editing of his various monographs on paintings, e.g., (1) Kangra Paintings of the Bhagvad Purana, (2) The Krishna Legend, (3) Kangra Valley Paintings, (4) Kangra Paintings on Love or Sringara-Paintings, also called Nayaka Naiyika-Bheda and Baramasa, dealing mainly with Rasikapriya of Keshav Dev, (5) Kangra Paintings of Jayadeva’s *Gita Govinda*, (6) Baschli Paintings, and (7) Chamba Paintings.

He has established it beyond doubt that the Kangra school of Painting grew out of a synthesis of "the Mughal technique of painting, the inspiration of Vaishnavism, the charm of Sanskrit poetry, the beauty of the people of Kangra Valley and the lovely landscape of the Punjab Hills". The Kangra painting developing out of the Mughal courts radically changed in the lovely valleys of Punjab hills and became abiding by dealing with delightful and eternal themes of human love in which hot blood of passion began to surge forth with the flood of praise and prayer; and Bhakti and Shakti or Devotion and Procreation moved on under the influx of Bhakti Movement on one side and courtly grandeur on the other. The resilience of the Punjabis resulted in the fusion of the moral and the material, temporal and the spiritual, secular and the sacred. 'Bhagwan' (God) and 'Bhagat' (Devotee), 'Shakti' and 'Shankar', Lover and the Beloved, Divine and Divinity, 'Bansi' (reed-flute) and the 'tan' (tune), were submerged into the ocean of Love and Trance which were painted in all fulness in these paintings. In place of abstract metaphysics, the portraits were drawn of full-blooded men and ripe blossoming women enjoying physical ecstasy with spiritual truth and Great Reality behind—the best testimony of true Punjabi culture which bloomed in the cradle of history. It was this Art which reigned supreme, at one time, in the curio-market of Amritsar under the wrong name of 'Tibeti Art'. A vigorous use of primary colours and peculiar facial formulae was usually made in these paintings with deep red borders drawn in a simple and bold style, in yellow, blue and red—all symbolic. Whether it be the varying tones of the same colour, or a gay abandon with a riot of colours; whether it is the powerful grey and brown or the glowing green; grace, poise and symbolism are always adhered to. The Art was both esoteric and secular. It betrayed individualism imported from Persia and Khurason wedded with traditionalism of India. The mating took place more in the fertile and fervent fields of Punjab hills. The arabesque of Persian Art, after union with Indian themes, delivered itself to produce lyricism, romanticism, sentimentality, nature fidelity and idealization of village life. It became the spinal cord of Indian Miniature Art. Rigvedic conceptions like 'Hiranya

Garbha' and Puranic lore were profusely depicted. Mythology particularly Krishana Legend as in Kangra, Ramayana Kands as in Kulu, Ordeals of Narayana,—the saint of Damthal, as in Nurpur, Sikh Gurus as in Guler, Nayaka Naiyika plays as in Chamba, Nat-Natni acrobats as in Nadaun, with the hot-blooded Punjabi passion in the youthful 'Yuvnis' (maids) and 'yuvuks' (men) as in the folk-art, as well as Kalidas's Meghduta, became the popular objects with the artists in the Punjab hills in the 18th Century. Naturism became predominant in the form of willows, ripe-mangoes, trees, shady bowers, soft streams, gentle pourings of rain, dark-clouds, grassy swards, pairs of loving pigeons and doves, passionate embraces, and lovers in 'solution-sweet', cattle, ornaments, transparent drapery, enlarged eyes, colourful clothes, yearnings of young men and women, enchanting tales of love, etc., became symbolic of Punjabi programme of life. Folk-art of India plussed with Safavi techniques imported from Persia. Though period from 1740 to 1750 in the Punjab, can politically be called as one of the darkest, yet culturally it proved a blessing in disguise. A second migration about a thousand years after the first, led to development of a Punjab Hills School of Paintings popularly and broadly known as Kangra style. The beauty of this style lay mainly in rhyme, symbolic colours and masterful handling of the themes.

The art of painting affected the architectural designs and the latter affected the skill in painting. The various paintings of the period inter-se display the architectural development and social life in the Punjab. The turrets, panelled doors, latticed windows, stone trellis, painted pillars, decorated divans, richly furnished courts, coloured carpets, parched pavillions, plenty of plinths, grotesque figure-heads, glistening colours, alcoves, bed-rooms, wine-flasks and goblets, balconies full of buoyancy, princes and princesses in pavillions and private chambers, closeted together in dalliance, big cots bedecked and in readiness for youthful lovers, strong men holding their sweet maids, 'rose' sprinklers, flower-vases, tumblers, plates, full of fruits, bouquets and baskets, etc., in various paintings display the life of the people as full of breath and vigour, people living in the world and world living in them, and not recluses running away from the enchanting attractions. This

was the Punjab of the 18th Century—Punjab of Heer and Ranjha, Sassi and Punnu, Sohni and Mahiwal, Mirza and Sahiban, Dhola and Balu, Mundri and Mongru; of youthful Jats and Jattis, attractive milk-maids and 'gaddis.' Apart from this living, the nobility lived more affluently. New architectural designs were noticeable in the Gurdwaras, temples, mosques, forts and palaces, orchards and mausoleums, e.g., Golden Temple of Amritsar, Fazal-Abad Rafi-ul-shan and Gillani-Hauz at Lahore, Rang-Mahal, Shalimar in its suburbs and Mausoleum of Jahangir at Shahdara. They depict, beyond doubt, the mingling of various cultural streams and rubbing shoulders by diverse creeds. A fermentation was taking place resulting in a compound mass out of the complex, unity out of diversity. The process progressed *pari-passu*. True to their culture, the Punjabis never lagged behind to incorporate new ideas and to import new techniques keeping intact their originality of environments, climatic conditions, temperaments and values of community life. Foreign patterns and designs were adopted if and when they suited this part of the country climatologically, psychologically and in the context of their economies and society. The Punjabis did not restrict their import to any single region. The latest sample can be found in the modern or Chandigarh architectural design which is symbolic of the 'openness' of these people and represents scenic beauty, sun-shine and strength as well as magnificence and grandeur. "One of the first and still one of the most significant urban projects of the post-war period arose in India in 1950 with the establishment of Chandigarh, the new capital of Punjab. It was intended to provide a symbolic focal point for the new Government and its design engaged the talents of several distinguished architects" of the world. This architectural gift of the modern Punjab is the outcome of a cosmopolitan thinking, initial scheme in 1949 of an Armenian Albert Mayer, design in 1950 by a Polish architect Mathew Nowicki and a New York firm of Mayer, Whittlesey and Glass, revision in 1951 by a French, LeCorbusier, collaboration of Pierre Jeanneret, assistance of two Brits, Maxwell Fry and Jane Dren, and, above all, the judicious selection of the site in 1948 and subsequent direction by a Punjabi Chief Engineer P.L. Verma, capable administration, from 1949 on, by another Punjabi executive, P.N. Thapar, amazing push and extraordinary drive

of its most recent Punjabi Chief Commissioner, Dr. Randhawa, a Wonder Man and Wizard amongst intellectuals, artists and administrators, as well as the indefatigable labours of scores of Punjabi and other labourers for the last 20 years. The hands of the stout Punjabis and the brains of the world's engineering talent brought forth a civic project of unusual imagination, enterprise, daring, magnitude and international fame even in the face of a crisis raging in the wake of the partition of a confused and squeezed Punjab in a baffled and truncated India. Chandigarh, the crown of cities and a monumental composition in modern architecture, represents the creative strength, vigour, determination and independence of modern Punjab and about which late Pt. Nehru rightly declared, "Let this be a new town, symbolic of the freedom of India, unfettered by the traditions of the past." Here again, the adaptability of the Punjabis imported a new urban design from the West—reflection of modernity on the garden-city heritage by choosing a flat gently sloping plain of agricultural land dotted with groves of mango-trees which marked the sites of twenty-five villages or hemlets bounded by two river beds about four miles apart—the Patiali Rau to the West and the Sukhna Cho to the east, and preserving its traditional religiosity by christening the new 'baby' as Chandigarh after one of these 24 villages, the site of a temple to goddess Chandi.

In the field of language, too, we can glory in the name of this great land. The present linguistic controversy raged by some in this "Land of the gods" is, however, more for the goods than for the good. The Punjabi language is more akin to Hindi and Urdu than perhaps any other dialect. The Punjabi language, as spoken, has derived largely from the treasure-houses of Vedic literature, Pali language, and Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Urdu words. Modern Punjabi began with Guru Nanak, and Farid, Gorakh Nath, Tughlaq Shah, Charpat Nath, Khusro Khan, etc., made its texture. The warp and woof for it was taken from Sufism or mysticism and the Bhakti cult or Vaishnavism. It was nurtured and nourished equally by the Sufis and the Bhaktas, by Muslims and the Hindus, by Masters and the Masses. The language is more secular than regional or sectional. The royal patronage to the Punjabi language by Ranjit Singh encouraged

writers like Hashim to write the stories of Shirin-Farhad, Laila Majnu, Sohni Mahiwal and Sassi Punnu in Punjabi. We cannot ignore another form of pure Punjabi verisification, i.e., "Var" poetry, e.g., "Nadar Shah di Var" by Nijabat of Shahpur, and "Hari Singh Nalwa" by Qadaryar, frequently sung by Mirasis and Bhats (bards) of the Punjab. These poems conspicuously rise above religious bias and are more or less historical in colour and theme. Their growing popularity can be adjudged from their oft-repeated recitation from the All India Radio, Jullundur. Apart from poetry, the Punjabi prose works, particularly the "Janam Sakhis" are also inspiring and historical. The best known "Purani Janam Sakhi" is still lying in London Library in a manuscript of 300 years old. The "Reht Namas" are other works in Punjabi prose. Ranjit Singh got composed "Akbar Nama" also for his guidance. The Khalsa College Library, Amritsar, has got plenty of manuscripts of the life-stories, religious discourses and other state-accounts of the Gurus, kings, etc.

No account of the history of Punjabi literature can be complete without our acknowledgement of the Heer of Damodar Gulati of Jhang, Mirza Sahiban of Pilu, Nahr-ul-Ulum, Bahr-ul-Ulum, Heer, Sassi Punnu, Yasuf-Zulekha and Mirza Sahiban of Hafiz Barkhurdar of Cheema Chatha; Tuhfatul-Fiqah, Maarfit-i-Ilahi and Khair-ul-Ashqin of Abdulla Abidi of Montgomery; Heer Baintan of Ahmed Kavi, Si-harfi-Heer and Aish-nama of Miran, Akhbar-ul Akhurat of Faqir-Darzi of Chandewal (Gujrat), Jang-nama, Heer and Akhbar-i-Hamid of Hamid Shah bin Ata Mohammad of Chandi Chonta (Pathankot), Zulekha of Mian Abdul Hakim Bahawalpuri, Qafis, and Ghazals of Mian Mohd. Baksh Nauroz Multani, Qisa Hasrat Yusuf of Sadiq Lali of Lehnda; Heer and Jangnama of Muqbal Shah and, above all, Heer of his contemporary Waris Shah, Sufis and saints like Mohd. Shah Miran ji, Farid Ibrahim Shah, Burhan-ud-Din, Madho Lal Shah Hussain, Sultan Bahu, Fazil-ud-Din Batalvi, Mohd. Afzal Lahori, Shah Sharf Batalvi, Syd. Ali Haider Multani, Ghulam Qadir Shah Batalvi, Syd. Ghulam Jailani Rohtaki, Bulhe-Shah, Shaikh Nasir-ul-Haq, Abidi Abbasi, Sain Lengha, Maskin, Pir Ghulam Jailani Lyalpuri, Shaikh Nur Ali Lahori, Miran Shah Jalandhari, Shaikh Mohd Fazil Jehlumi, Shah Rahim Baksh Jaurianwala,

Walayat Shah Bahawalpuri, Shah-ud-Din, Baba Wahid Khan, Ghulam Haider Jehlumi, Lutaf Ali Bahawalpuri, Syd. Fazl Shah Nawankoti, Pir Baksh Assi, Mohd.-Ali Sain, Sain Maula Baksh Majithwi, Faqir Mohd. Faqir, Pir Fazl Hussain Gujrati, Syd. Ali Shah Ashanpuri, and Ahmed Rahi, etc., etc., contributed no less than the Sikh Gurus, the Hindu Bhaktas and others in the development of this language. For the last about 60 years, the Punjabi language has made further strides through the efforts of missionaries, nationalists and pamphleteers. The present generation can feel highly proud of Mohan Singh, the Sahitya Akademy Award and Soviet Land Nehru-Award winner, Amrita Pritam, Bhai Veer Singh, Dhani Ram 'Chatrik', Jaswant Rai, and Nand Lal 'Nurpuri', I. C. Nanda, Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafar and several others as the great stalwarts of Punjabi literature. Works of Bawa Budh Singh, e. g., Hans Chog, Koel Ku; Babya Bol; Niti Shatak, Shringar Shatak, Dilerkaur, Mundri, Nar Naveli, Raja Risalu, Hemant Kumar, Nadir Shah, Prem Kahani, etc., etc., occupy a voluminous space in the annals of Punjabi literature, mainly secular. Subhadra Var Ghar or Lilly da Viah, Shammu Shah (Merchant of Venice) and three commendable selections (i) Jhalkare, (ii) Lashkare, (iii) Chamkare, consisting of 11 one-act plays of I.C.Nanda, have brought Punjabi language to the threshold of maturity as a maid-medium of masses.

Apart from Punjabi we have got a treasure-house of Hindi literature also. At random sampling, we may mention the names of (i) Chand-Bardai of Lahore—author of 'Prithvi Raj Raso' (ii) Kaviyar Rahim, (iii) Pt. Hirde Ram, the writer of first Hindi drama, i.e., "Hanuman Natik", (iv) Guru Gorakh Nath, the first writer of Hindi prose; (v) Babu Balmukand Gupta, the writer of "Shiv Shambu Nath ka Chitha", a satire in Hindi; (vi) Pt. Shardha Ram Phillauri, the author of "Satyamrit Parvah (1884)", "Atma Chikitsa", "Tatva Dipal", "Dharam Prakasha", "Updesh Sangraha", "Bhagyavati" and (vii) Satya Dev Swami "Pariprajak" who modelled travelogues in Hindi. Gurus Nanak and Gobind Singh also patronized and wrote in Hindi. Mangal, Amrit Rai, Sarada, Sudaman, Sunder, Senapati, Hans Ram, Dharam Singh, Madan, Alam Shah Jamel, etc., were some of the many Hindi writers awarded by the great 10th Guru. In the current century, the development of Hindi owes much to the efforts of Swami

Shradha Nand, Mahatma Hans Raj, Prof. Vasist, and particularly to Dr. Raghuvira, the great scholar who did so much to make Hindi a strong national language by coining of Hindi equivalents for English words.

Concurrently with Punjabi and Hindi, we have also got gems and jewels in Urdu literature which got spontaneous support in the Punjab. Punjabis like Maulana Mohd. Afzal Jhanjhanvi Panipati, Mir Jafar Zatali, Syed. Atal Narnoli, Munshi Wali Ram, Sheikh Usman, Maulana Abidi, Nasir Ali Sirhindi, Sheikh Mohd. Fazil-ud-Din Batalvi, Musa, Mohd. Nur, Gulam Qadir Shah, Mian Ahmed, Budh Singh, Khufia Begum, Mohd. Ghos Batalvi, Namdar Khan Datt, Dil Mohammad Dilshad Passruri, Fidwi Lahori, Khushdil, Ram Kishan, Pir Sikandir Shah, Gulam Qadir Jalalpuri, etc. etc., prepared the finale of the fine literature in Urdu. Lahore has been a national cradle for it with writers and poets like Iqbal, Maulana Mohd. Hussain Azad, Zafar Ali Khan, Khwaja Dil Mohd., Sir Abdul Qadir, Abdul Majid Salik, Bashir Ahmad, Mohd. Shafi, Raja Sir Narendra Nath, Mohd. Aslem, Haji Laq-Laq and a host of others. The lyrics of Hafeez Jalandhri, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Akhtar, Sahir Ludhianvi, the "Josh-O-Kharosh" of Josh Malsiani, the 'Chang-o-Ahang' of Arsh Malsiani, the didactics of Tilok Chand "Mahroom", the outbursts of Jagan Nath "Azad", and the romantic and nationalist recitations of scores of others, point towards the great wealth of Urdu literature of the Punjab.

The Punjab has also got the credit of timely resilience like the Iranians. Any ism can creep into its lap. Sufism and Romanticism afford best examples to us. Sufi poets like Baba Farid, Bulhe Shah, and Ali Haider did their best to bring about religious reconciliation *vide* their 'dohas', 'kafis', and 'siharfis' respectively. Multan, Montgomery, Pakpattan, Lahore and Kasur were famous for abodes of Sufis. The tunes of Bhaktism, the cult of Vedant, the impact of Sikhism and the strict monotheism of Islam fermented themselves into one all-pervading ism, i.e., the Humanism. The Punjab has also been in the forefront in romance and romantic utterances. The river Chenab in the Punjab, better known as "Aashak Chanah", the long-stretching wheat crops, the stout and sturdy farmers, the healthy and

charming maidens and damsels provide us with a history of 'romance' of the Punjab. Who does not know about Heer Ranjha, Mirza Sahiban, Sohni Mahiwal and Sassi Punnu? The thrilling love-stories of these pairs can challenge comparison with any counter-parts in other regions of the world. The Punjab does not lack in "Romeos" and "Juliets" and abounds in "Shakespeares" who have given eternal name to them. The romantic compositions of some Punjabis have elicited appreciation from all over the world. The "Heer Ranjha" of Damodar, Ahmed, Muqbal and Warris Shah (1730-90), "Mirza Sahiban" of Pilu Saint and Hafiz Barkhurdar (1650-1720), and also "Sassi Pannu" and "Yusuf Zuleikhan" of the latter are touching pieces of romantic recitations and passionate discourses.

The "Legends of Panjab" add a glorious chapter to the social and cultural study of this historic land. Folk-tales and the bardic poems have been existing side by side with the routine life in the Punjab. As Capt. R.C. Temple says, "in a country like the Punjab, the process of the bardic legend breaking down into the ordinary folk-tale is constantly met with". Romantic and religious, spiritual and spirited, Punjab abounds in folk-tale. "It lives in every village and hemlet, in every nursery and zenana, and wherever the women and children congregate". National legends, miraculous measures, moral molecules, "swangs" and metrical plays, all can be found in the depositories of traditional bards. These legends are also a good source of our social, cultural, political, and biographical history, in some cases. The Punjabis feel indebted to Capt. Temple for his consummation in reviving to full life the legends of Punjab which otherwise were apt to die with the dying institution of 'Mirasis' and Bhattas (Bards). The adventures of Raja Risalu, Sakhi Sarwar and Dani Jatti, Dhanna Bhagat, Gugga Pir, Sila Dai, Niwal Dai, Lal Beg, Raja Gopi Chand, Raja Chander Bhan, Raja Sansar Chand, Raja Fatteh Parkash, Jalabi, Raja Nal, Heer and Ranjha, Mirza Sahiban, Sassi Punnu, Banasur, Raja Dhru and the legends about the saints of Jalandhar are some of the folk-tales which have descended to us from our forefathers and depict our ancestral culture which we have inherited and which has been further inculcated by us in spite of the influence of modernity. Folk-lore, like religion,

philology, mythology, anthropology, ethnology, archaeology, even physiology, and so on, is a science, if it is studied methodically. Heroic legends, e.g., of Raja Chander Bhan and Rani Chand Kauran, Raja Jagdev, Raja Nal, and Raja Dhol, Raja Harish Chander, etc., sanctified hagiologic tales, e. g., of Abdullah Shah Samin, Ismail Khan's Grandmother, Bracelet-maker of Jhang, romances of Heer and Ranjha, Sassi Punnu, Mirza Sahiban and Sohni Mahiwal, the stories of saints, e.g., of Namdev, Sakhi Sarwar, Abdul Haidir Jillani, Puran Bhagat, Dhanna Jat, Rode Shah, Suthre Shah, Daulat Shah, as well as the secular summaries of the deeds of Chuhar Singh, etc., are a mirror of the true Punjabi panorama in its multifarious phases which was evolved out of the soft as well tumultuous currents passing over this region from time to time—a kaleidoscopic culture depicting romance and reverence, Bhakti and Shakti, “Kaya and Maya” myth and matter, faith and fallacies, hope and fear, restraint and relaxation, i.e., life in action—a true trait of the people here.

Thus from the study of art, literature, thoughts, creeds and various isms prevalent in the Punjab, we find that this land, the ancient Brahmavarta—affords a prismatic band of various colours shining as one panel of glistening glory. Under the breakers of turmoil and upheavals too, an under-current of peace and Ahinsa of Budha, high spirituality of the Vedas, the hardiness of invaders and interpreters, and a flow of romance among the impulsive and blooming young have been going on, to and fro, like the swing of a cradle. It was in this swing that all social, political and cultural activity in the Punjab was kneaded with the thought of the orthodox—to give at doctrine of the three aims of practical life, which exercised and is continuously exercising a considerable formative influence on the culture of this region. The three note-worthy aims which form the kernel of this culture are Dharma, Karma and Kama, i.e., Piety, Profit and Pleasure, jointly leading to the fourth and ultimate goal of “Moksha”, i.e., complete release from bondage.

Recent Studies of Various Religions in India*

SIKH STUDIES

PROF. HARBANS SINGH†

Sikhism, the last so far of world's major religions, compels scholarly attention for a variety of reasons. First, because of its age itself, or the time of its origin. The 500th birth anniversary of the founder, Guru Nanak (1469-1539), will be observed in almost exactly two years time from now. Thus in terms of years, it is the youngest of religions, having yet to complete the first half-millennium of its existence. Apart from being the harbinger of intimations comparatively new, Sikhism is significant especially from sociological and syncretic points of view. It was born at a time when two important religions—Hinduism and Islam—had mingled on Indian soil for several centuries. How Sikhism attempted to bridge the gulf between the two, evolving in this process a distinct individuality of its own, and how it gained adherents at a time when the hold on people's minds of older, highly institutionalized religions was stronger than ever should be an interesting study.

Equally interesting is the intensity of performance of this faith during its comparatively short span and the far-reaching changes it brought about in the social structure in Northern India. Beginning as a spiritual, monotheistic and ethical faith with the prophecy of Guru Nanak, it gradually developed into a cohesive and well-marked order with a deeply humanitarian and social outlook. The seed in Guru Nanak's teaching flowered in the care of nine succeeding prophets. This, again, is something peculiar in the history of religion—ten spiritual Masters, succeeding one another, regarded with equal adoration and honour by the followers as manifesting and articulating the same divine spirit and prophecy. Each contributed towards the evolution of

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the creed and the civil organization in accordance with the inner dynamism of the ministry inaugurated by the first Guru, or Prophet-teacher, and with the exigencies of contemporary social environment.

Pressed by the growing intolerance of the ruling authority, the Sixth Nanak, Guru Hargobind, taught the use of arms. Seeing how peaceable means had failed to secure the rising sect from oppression and how his predecessor, the Fifth Guru, had to pay the extreme penalty for his religious conviction, he recognized recourse to the sword a lawful alternative.

The Ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur, again bore the cross and suffered martyrdom by execution. Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and last of the Sikh prophets, brought to consummation the work started by Guru Nanak. He initiated the martial and casteless fellowship of the Khalsa to which came people from all classes and sections of society, the high-born, the peasants and the so-called lowly *shudras*.

A prolonged spell of fierce persecution followed the death of Guru Gobind Singh. Suffering brought power. Under Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), the Sikhs established a strong kingdom in the Punjab.

This eventually fell to internal machinations and onrush of British conquest. A reformatory current towards the end of the last century attempted to recover the essence and purity of Sikh teaching submerged in the splendour of power and further debased in the confusion and recession resulting from its dissolution.

This renaissance movement called the Singh Sabha gave rise to a vigorous protest against the control of Sikh holy places by an effete and corrupt priestly class which had introduced dogma and ritual so unambiguously rejected by the Gurus. The movement for the reformation of Sikh Gurdwaras became in the end a struggle against the British who took the part of the priestly custodians. The Singh Sabha and the Gurdwara movements opened the doors of modern progress for the Sikhs. The scope of the nationalist movement in the Punjab was widened and the Sikhs in India and abroad, especially on the Western coast of the United States, became the spearhead of the revolutionary struggle against foreign rule in the country.

In this graph covering a period of some 450 years, the Sikhs had

from a saintly and pacifist group turned into a vigorous and martial order, suffered persecution continuously for more than a half-century, established a strong and picturesque monarchy, suffered deterioration and eclipse and then found again their moral and social anchorage. Besides the historical vicissitudes, the story has much sociological interest.

Worthy of simultaneous exploration is the Scripture, the *Guru Granth*. It has certain distinctive features. It is a direct record of the Gurus' word. The first copy as compiled by Guru Arjun, the Fifth Guru, is still preserved in a family of descendants at Kartarpur. The Holy Book was catholically designed: besides his own hymns and those of his predecessors, the Guru included in it utterances of some of the saints and sufis, Hindu as well as Muslim. These latter have for the Sikhs the same meaning and sanctity as the hymns of the Gurus. The *Guru Granth* brings to a point of concordance the various thought-streams then current in the country giving it a specific philosophic framework and sums up the *ethos* and experience of medieval India as no other work does. It, for the first time, turned to literary use the language of the people of the area, i.e., Punjabi, and gave it its script, Gurmukhi. This underlines its linguistic and cultural significance. Guru Gobind Singh, when ending the succession of personal Gurus, invested the *Granth* with Guruship. It has since been venerated as such and any five Sikhs, representing a congregation, with the *Guru Granth* in their midst, have the Guru's authority for deciding matters of communal and religious importance. What part has this feeling of the Guru's constant presence among them and the responsibility entrusted to them played in the affairs of the Sikhs is an interesting question.

Then, some of the characteristics of the Sikhs as a people—their deep attachment to their faith (there are some professedly believing Sikhs even among those formally converted to Marxian way of thinking), their enterprising and practical outlook and their *elan* and *joi-de-vivre*. They are known for their avidity for soldiering and farming and for their wander-lust. Among the characteristics of Sikh society may also be mentioned equality among the sexes and a democratic communal functioning. The Sikhs' highest ecclesiastical body is

formed by elections on the basis of State-wide adult franchise, conducted under Government auspices every five years. This, again, is something peculiar to them. The Sikhs' institutions, practices and insignia and symbols, singularly distinguishable and strictly observable, their mental, moral and cultural make-up, their religious tradition and their social principles and participation open up an exciting and meaningful field of study.

In 1788 appeared what may be called the first published work on the Sikhs. That was 80 years after the passing away of Guru Gobind Singh. The Sikhs had outlived nearly three generations of persecution and were establishing themselves in possession of the Punjab in the wake of the disintegration of Mughal hegemony. The East India Company were watchful of their growing influence and Governor-General Warren Hastings charged his Minister at the Delhi court, Major James Browne, with collecting information about them. In 1783 he came by a manuscript, in Davanagri, on the history of the Sikhs and had it rendered into Persian. He himself made an English translation from the Persian and published it, with an Introduction, under the title *History of the Origin and Progress of the Sicks*. The word Sikhs, it may be marked, has been spelt here as "S-i-c-k-s." This is nothing surprising considering what odd combinations and permutations of the English alphabet have been tried to write this word : twenty-two different spellings have been counted in the English writings of those early days, including such precious varieties as "S-e-y-q-u-e", "S-e-i-c-k", "S-e-e-k", "S-i-c-k-e", "S-h-i-k" and "S-i-c". The account is historical in nature, but sketchy and inaccurate at places. Browne's own description, in the Introduction, of the Sikhs' manners and customs is both lively and penetrating and his anticipation of their future importance for what he called "the administration of Bengal" was evidence of his sound political judgement.

This kind of diplomatic curiosity prompted a considerable body of English writing about the Sikhs and their country and religion. In the despatches and memoranda of English officers, the memoirs and diaries of travellers and adventurers who came to the Punjab attracted by stories of the grandeur and hospitality of Ranjit Singh's court (George Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, 1798, Victor

Jacquemont. *Letters from India*, 1834, Charles Hugel, *Travel in Cashmere and the Punjab, containing a particular account of the Government and character of the Sikhs*, 1845), and in the accounts of some of the European employees of the Sikh court (Steinbach, *The Punjab : being a brief account of the country of the Sikhs*, 1845, Major H.M.L. Lawrence, *Adventures of an Officer in the Punjab in the Service of Ranjit Singh*, 1846, John Martin Honighberger, *Thirty-Five Years in the East*, 1852, Alexander Gardner, *Memoirs*, 1898, etc.), we come across references to the Sikhs and their religious and national characteristics. There were also some more regular essays published such as Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs*, 1812, H.T. Prinsep's *The Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab*, 1834, and W. L. M'Gregor's *The History of the Sikhs*, 1846.

The first serious study of the Sikhs came in 1849. This was the work of Joseph Davey Cunningham who was a Captain in the army of the East India Company and spent eight years of his Indian service on political assignments on the Sikh frontier. He explored the available sources of information with the meticulousness of a scholar. Besides official despatches and documents and the earlier English accounts, he went to the basic material and acquainted himself with the Sikh scriptures as well as relevant manuscripts in Persian and Punjabi. The emphasis, in the *History* by Cunningham, shifted from his predecessor's concern with the assessment of the Sikhs' political and military strength or the description of the manner of their court to the identification of the ingredients of their moral and religious inspiration and of the driving force behind their rise from a religious sect to nationhood. The book is also significant for its account of the geography, economy and racial constituents of the people of the Punjab and of the social setting in which Sikhism was born. Elaborate footnotes and appendices show the minuteness and variety of Cunningham's learning. His style of writing has an imperishable quality and he reads so interestingly even today. The perspective of objectivity he maintains throughout, especially when dealing with British policy towards the Sikhs at the time of the first Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46), confirms Cunningham's scholastic credentials. This is remarkable in one who was so closely involved with events he was writing of : of

course, this did earn him official displeasure resulting in a setback to his career.

Another noticeable work is the English translation of portions of the Scripture, the Guru Granth, by Dr. Ernest Trumpp, a German Orientalist. He was commissioned to make the translation by the India Office in 1869. The Punjab had by then been annexed to British dominions. Dr. Trumpp who had made a study of the medieval Indian languages came and lived in the Punjab to learn Punjabi. To his translation he added English versions of two of Guru Nanak's traditional life stories, with brief accounts of the following Gurus, an analysis of the religious system of the Sikhs and a note on the language and the poetic metres used in the Guru Granth. Trumpp's approach was not free from prejudice and he never came to form that sympathy and appreciation for the religion he was studying and its canons which are essential for understanding a religious faith and tradition. His pejorative remarks about their scriptural texts gave offence to Sikh sentiment and the book, published in 1877, never commanded much respect among scholars.

To make up for the imperfections of Trumpp's work and to indemnify the hurt it had caused to the Sikhs, a Punjab civilian, Max Arthur Macauliffe, undertook to make a translation on his own. He resigned from the Indian Civil Service to devote himself to this task. He learnt several Indian languages, including Sanskrit, Persian, Marathi and Punjabi and immersed himself in Sikh lore. With the help of some hereditary Gianis, or interpreters of the sacred texts, he worked the Granth Sahib through (1430 pages in folio), not once but several times. He rendered most of it into English, added life histories of the Gurus to the translation of the Scripture and had the work published in 1909 by Oxford University Press in six stout volumes, with the title *The Sikh Religion*. Historically, Macauliffe's translation is very important. It attempted to arrive at and record a broad consensus from the diverse schools of scriptural interpretation as coming down the generations through verbal tradition. His accounts of the Gurus' lives are not based on critical research, but, by and large, on old mythopoetic Sikh cycles. This was due to his extra sensitiveness to

Sikh opinion which did inhibit the style and scope of his study. Nevertheless, Macauliffe's work remains the best introduction to the early period of Sikhs' history and to their sacred writings, unsuperseeded so far in its scholarship.

By this time, English education had spread to the Punjab and the Sikhs, passing through a process of moral and intellectual awakening, started rediscovering their religious inheritance. Books, journals and tractarian writing, began to appear. Among the pioneers were Bhagat Lakshman Singh, who started a Sikh weekly journal in English called *The Khalsa* in 1899, and published his *Life of Guru Gobind Singh* in 1909. Sewaram Singh published his *The Critical Study of the Life and Teachings of Sri Guru Nanak Dev* in 1904 and Khazan Singh his *The History and Philosophy of Sikh Religion* in 1914.

In maturer intellectual and literary idiom were the essays on the Gurus and their religion by Sardul Singh Caveeshar and Sir Jogendra Singh. Puran Singh's accounts of the Gurus' lives in his *The Book of the Ten Masters*, 1926, have wide popular appeal: so have his exquisite translations of Sikh poetry (*Sisters of the Spinning Wheel*, 1921).

This writing on the whole was more adulatory and expository than scholastic. More discriminating studies came in the next phase which started in the thirties with some university men taking to Sikh letters. This period was dominated by Bhai Jodh Singh, Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, all of whom were then at the Khalsa College at Amritsar. The two former devoted themselves to Sikh theology and taught this subject at the college. Ganda Singh's speciality was Sikh history which he studied with the discipline of a researcher. His own work on the 18th century Sikh history and on Anglo-Sikh wars attains an immaculate standard of scholarship. The Sikhs' history, more than their theology and philosophy, became the subject of study by academics. Sita Ram Kohli made a painstaking study of the period of Ranjit Singh. Hari Ram Gupta covered the latter half of the 18th century in his two well-known books on Sikh history. On the Gurus, the work of Indubhusan Banerjee was unequalled for its historical erudition and reasoning. Mention must also be made of a thesis of an earlier date, Gokal Chand Narang's *Transformation of Sikhism*, 1912, still in print and extensively read and quoted.

To the Khalsa College which then occupied a central place in Sikh learning came, in 1937, John Clark Archer of Yale, the first and, so far, the last American scholar to make a sustained study of Sikhism—i.e., not counting Dr. Loehlin who has lived in the Land of Five Rivers long and vitally enough to have become a Punjabi. The literary resources in Amritsar and his personal contact with Bhai Jodh Singh and Ganda Singh provided the required material and stimulus. The result of this labour was a book entitled *The Sikhs* published in 1946 by Princeton University Press. It set out to study Sikhism “as a venture in the reconciliation of religions”, and described its doctrines, institutions and places of worship in relation to contiguous faiths, such as Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. In spite of the diligent and direct investigation he made, Archer’s conclusions were tentative : and, what is even more surprising, his facts went awry at too many places.

Comparative study is a feature also of that very admirable book *The Gospel of the Guru Granth Sahib* by Duncan Greenlees published, in 1952, by the Theosophical Publishing House in their World Gospel Series. This work contains a most lucid statement of the Sikh doctrine, and, with its translation of portions of the Guru Granth, including Guru Nanak’s *Japji*, which represents the kernel of Sikh thought and metaphysics, and a 200-page historical essay, it ranks as the best compendium of Sikhism available. To Sikhs themselves it is wholly acceptable which shows that Greenlees was able to sympathetically and fully grasp his subject.

In the same literary lineage, though not as well organized, is C. H. Loehlin’s *The Sikhs and Their Scriptures*. He has lived among the Sikhs for more than 30 years and depicts them and their religious heritage with manifest understanding. This book also makes a comparative study of Sikhism with neighbouring faiths, but attempts to take in too many aspects in a small compass to give an exhaustive treatment.

In recent years the most scholarly work on Sikhs has come from the pen of one born to the faith. This is *Prasharprasma*, by Kapur Singh, which sets out the individual character of Sikhism in the perspective of Indian religious thought. Kapur Singh, vastly

learned in Indian and Semetic theology and in the modern philosophical and scientific knowledge, has worked out his thesis with his characteristic intellectual finesse and his vigorous and persuasive English style *Our Heritage*, by Narain Singh, treats of the basic tenets of Sikhism in a cogent and authentic manner. Monumental in design and execution is an English translation by Gopal Singh of the entire Guru Granth, published in 1960. In the same year was published, under the auspices of UNESCO, an anthology of the scriptural texts, carefully made and equally carefully rendered into English by a council of five Sikh scholars, Trilochan Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh, Kapur Singh, Bawa Harkishan Singh and Khushwant Singh.

With Khushwant Singh, the Sikh writing attains colour as well as sophistication. His *History of the Sikhs*, in two volumes, at which he worked under a fellowship created by the Rockefeller Foundation at Aligarh University has been published by Princeton University Press. This book spans the entire course of the history of the Sikh people in an intimate and vivid manner. Although Khushwant Singh has in recent years done more than perhaps any other scholar to foster the cult of Sikh history, he studiously maintains an attitude of detachment and of reverence for fact. For this reason, his *History* is a reliable account and is the only book on the subject which will be read with interest by the layman as well as the *cognoscente*.

A book which is yet awaiting reviews and which must, in time, establish itself as a significant work of interpretation is Gurbachan Singh Talib's *Guru Gobind Singh's Impact on Indian Society*, published by the Guru Gobind Singh Foundation earlier in the year. This is a study which goes to the roots of Sikhism and examines its historical role with a penetrating and critical eye. The subject has been treated under five main points, i.e., the idea of God, evolution of the heroic character, invoking India's heroic tradition, religion viewed as universal brotherhood and Apostolate to the people. In building up his thesis he relies more on practical and sociological aspects of Sikhism than on theological and metaphysical. His interpretation of the literary symbol and of the emergence of the Sikh heroic character is sensitive and original. So is his manipulation, of the English language which yields to him so much of its magic and subtlety.

Two of the latest books to come out are *Paintings of the Sikhs* by W. G. Archer and *Sunset of the Sikh Empire* by Sita Ram Kohli. Archer's book is the first attempt at exploring the field of Sikh aesthetics. He has included in it secular painting which flourished under the patronage of the Sikh court. To his study of Sikh painting, Archer adds a brief historical survey in which he traces the rise of Sikhism as a religion and the emergence of the Sikhs as a ruling power under Ranjit Singh.

Sita Ram Kohli's book, published posthumously, is a work of research based on original sources. The period it studies is the decade intervening between the death of Ranjit Singh and the fall of the Sikh kingdom. The manuscript was edited by Khushwant Singh.

Mention has not so far been made of the Sikh studies in Punjabi. The tradition goes back to the Gurus' times. Bhai Gurdas, who was a contemporary of Guru Arjun and transcribed to his dictation the first copy of the Guru Granth, expounded the Sikh belief and conduct. His work is acknowledged as the key to the Scripture. About the same time began another distinctive vogue in Sikh literature, that is, of the composing of *Janam Sakhis*, or life-stories of Guru Nanak. These *Janam Sakhis*, models of earliest Punjabi prose, delineate the Guru in the imagery of faith and have exercised deep influence on Sikh psyche over the generations.

In Guru Gobind Singh's time, Sikh learning took two clearly marked courses. The five Sikhs, Guru Gobind Singh had sent to Banares to study Sanskrit to break the monopoly of the high-born in the field of learning, became the founders of Nirmala school of letters. With Bhai Mani Singh who learnt from Guru Gobind Singh the art of expounding the sacred texts began the school of Gianis. Nirmala scholars, given to celebrate and monastic living, interpreted Sikhism from the point of view of Vedant and other classical systems of Hindu thought. This school achieved its highest fulfilment in the writings of Pandit Sadhu Singh and Pandit Tara Singh Narotam in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Their books *Gurusikhia Prabhakar* and *Gurmat Nirnai Sagar*, respectively, which are the finest examples of indigenous learning, attempt to present the ontological aspects of Sikhism. From the Nirmalas' unwillingness to have their works

published and to have them sold for money if at all printed, most of their writings lie unknown in manuscripts in Davanagri and Gurmukhi, in Gurdwaras and monasteries throughout the Punjab. The Giani tradition led to the preparation, in 1894, of a weighty commentary of Guru Granth, known as the Faridkot Teeka. The work was commissioned by Maharaja Bikram Singh of Faridkot State who called a representative synod of Sikh schoolmen of the period to finalize the text. With these classics may be mentioned three most important historical works. Bhai Santokh Singh's *Gurpratap Surj Granth*, Ratan Singh Bhangu's *Prachin Panth Prakash* and Giani Gian Singh's *Panth Prakash*. For its epic scale, the splurge and splendour of its poetry and its wealth of imagery and detail, *Gurpratap Surj Granth* (1843), dealing with the lives of Gurus, is the most outstanding landmark in Sikh literature.

The publication of Kahan Singh's *Gurmat Sudhakar* and *Gurmat Prabhakar*, which are dictionaries of Sikh terms, doctrines and principles, and more especially, of his monumental *Mahan Kosh*, the Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature, marked the beginning of the modern phase of Sikh letters. In him and in Bhai Vir Singh the two traditional streams of Sikh learning, Nirmala and Giani, blended to produce a more integrated and balanced view of Sikh belief. Bhai Vir Singh, famed poet and mystic, edited the celebrated *Gurpratap Surj Granth* and wrote historical treatises. Later in life, he started work on a commentary of the Guru Granth. The portion he was able to complete has been posthumously published by his learned brother, Dr. Balbir Singh.

Among significant modern works are Bhai Jodh Singh's *Gurmat Nirnai* which authoritatively elucidates Sikh theological concepts and Sahib Singh's commentaries of the canonical texts. Sahib Singh made a pioneering study of the grammar of the Guru Granth and continued his studies to produce a prestigious eight-volume exegesis which has been recently published.

From this rapid survey, it is apparent that scholarly study of Sikhism has been rather limited. There has been some writing by foreigners, but this is by and large peripheral—inspired more by curiosity about

the Sikhs as a people than by a desire to probe the spiritual and philosophical basis of their inspiration. Most of Sikhs' own work falls in the category of what may be described as apologetics. They have a peculiar complex about their own religion, a mixture of the defensive and the assertive. This is perhaps the result of the *odium theologicum* to which their faith was subjected at the beginning of the century when leaders of the Singh Sabha renaissance were attempting to redefine the identity of Sikhism as a distinct faith. Their strong concern about self-preservation and their sensitiveness to criticism make the Sikhs impervious to a free discussion of their religious belief. A few years ago a very well meaning book by a Sikh scholar who has since done much to make Sikhism widely known was described by another Sikh writer as "an epitaph on the grave of the Sikh." And, this because the author had, in his Introduction, made a prankish remark about the future of the Sikhs. Besides this one sentence, the whole book was absolutely unexceptionable and did, in fact, counteract, in its enthusiastic presentation of the Sikh tradition, any possible pessimistic suggestion in his initial observation. It may be pointed out that the reviewer was no stubborn bigot nor a contankerous critic, but a versatile scholar, with wide culture and sympathies, who had lovingly and liberally taught English literature and Sikhism all his life. I have cited this instance only as a symptom of Sikhs' susceptibility and insularity in the discussion and presentation of their religion.

The Sikhs' own efforts and those of others who became interested in the study of their religion have been confined only to introducing their history or translating and explaining their scriptural writings. Interpretative and conceptual studies identifying the meaning of their philosophy, theology and ontology have been far too few. May be, with the new cultural ferment that is rising in the Punjab, Sikh studies will receive fresh impetus. As it is, the Guru Gobind Singh Foundation which was set up two years ago was able to produce a substantial corpus of literature. Similarly, the Punjabi University has, through its Department of Guru Granth Sahib Studies, undertaken some projects such as a Dictionary of Sikh Thought and a Concordance of the Guru Granth with a lexicon of difficult words and concepts. These works are being executed under most learned auspices. Such basic works must conduce to deeper scholarly studies.

Book Review

The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement, by G. S. DEOL,
Sterling Publishers, Delhi, 1969; pp. 201+43, price Rs. 25/-

Dr. G. S. Deol's work, his thesis presented to the Panjab University in the Department of Political Science for Ph. D. degree, fails to satisfy the test of a profound and coherent study, for the book lacks proper analysis of the historical data; nor does it attempt to provide any socio-economic dimension to the background for handling the role of the Ghadar Party in the Indian National Movement. The author has stuffed the book with quotations and statements without examining the authenticity of the information received in his interviews with the surviving Ghadrates. Also, he does not seem to have properly sifted the vast amount of material collected by him. His style of footnoting and referencing, too, leaves much to be desired.

In the first chapter, Dr. Deol has given the rise of Indian nationalism before the foundation of the Indian National Congress. There is some useful information here, but it is difficult to accept his view that the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj in 1828 was the expression of religious nationalism amongst the intelligentsia who had received western education and had been introduced to western ideologies through it.

In the second chapter, the author analysis the factors for the Indian emigration, namely, (i) economic pressure, (ii) better wages paid in Canada and the United States, (iii) trade rivalry between Britain and United States, and (iv) adventurous nature of the Panjabis. Here, he has also explained the causes of the emergence of the Ghadar Party, such as discrimination against the Indians, clash of interest between the American and the Indian labour, failure of the British government to protect their interests, emergence of national consciousness among the Indians in the United States, contact of Indian patriots with their

Irish counterparts and Russian anarchists, and American War of Independence.

Dr. Deol's account of the formation of the Ghadar Party is detailed and valuable. The author has very appropriately pointed out that the Ghadar party was founded by Hardyal, and not by a Bengali, as Dr R. C. Majumdar has said in his book, *History of the Freedom Movement*, Vol. II. Hardyal held several meetings in the United States in order to finalise the programme. At the meeting held on 21st April, 1913, at Astoria (Oregon), he gave a call for sacrifice of body, mind and finance (*tan, man and dhan*). Soon after, branches were established in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Philippine Islands, Siam and Panama. All Indians, irrespective of province and religion, could join it.

Chapter VI deals with the papers issued by the Ghadar Party. The 'Ghadar', published in English, Hindi, Urdu and Panjabi, was the main instrument in the revolutionary activities of the Ghadrites. It advocated the plan and the programme of the Ghadar Party. The other papers discussed here were the *Ghadr di Gunj* (The Echo of Mutiny), the *Ghadr Sandesa* (Message of Ghadr) and the *Elan-i-Jang*, (Declaration of War). The author has made it clear that the plan for the outbreak of a 'Ghadr' in India was to synchronise with the World War I. Lala Hardyal met the German Consul at San Francisco and decided that the Turkish troops, in conjunction with the Germans, should capture the Suez Canal and blockade it. Simultaneously, the Ghadar Party was to start a revolution in India.

Chapter VIII is devoted to the outbreak of the First World War. The author has stated in the first paragraph that the allies included Serbia, Belgium and Great Britain, (p. 97) which is not historically correct, as the allies were Great Britain, France, Russia and Japan. (U.S.A. joined them later). Here, the author has omitted to discuss the international situation *vis-a-vis* the Ghadrites, which does not seem correct.

Chapter XI discusses the Ghadrite revolt in India. One may say that Dr. Deol's work would have become more informative if he had provided some link between the Ghadrites of the United States of America and those of India.

Dr. Deol has confined the scope of his book to the activities of the Ghadriles in India and has thrown very little light on their activities abroad. Moreover, his account of the San Francisco Trial is not adequate. It seems that he has only consulted Roll No 3 of the U. S. Records, Department of Justice, whereas the nine rolls of the microfilm of the '*The Ghadar Party Trial*' have not been seen. In regard to the Chicago case, the author has not mentioned Jodh Singh, Nawab Khan and Mula, approvers in the San Francisco case, being tried at Chicago.

In the end, Dr. Deol argues that the Ghadar movement accelerated the Indian national movement. "The Home Rule Movement, started by Mrs Annie Besant and B. G. Tilak in 1916 could be said to be the direct successor of the Ghadar movement". It shook the foreign rule and created a new awakening among the Indians, particularly after the trials and executions of the Ghadriles. The activities of the Ghadar Party did not end with the First World War, but continued till India achieved independence in 1947.

All things said, Dr. Deol has worked hard and produced a very informative work.

Amarjit Singh

The price of the book is rather exhorbitant.

BOOKS RECEIVED

English

Harbans Singh. *Guru Nanak and Origins of the Sikh Faith*. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1969; pp. 247, 18×22/8, price Rs.15.

McLeod, W.H. *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*. Oxford University Press London, 1968; pp. xiv+259, price 50/- sh.

Gurbachan Singh Talib. *Guru Nanak, His Personality and Vision*. Gurdas Kapur and Sons, Delhi, 1969; pp. xxxii+330, 18×22/8, price Rs. 25.

Puran Singh. *The Spirit of Oriental Poetry*. Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969; pp. 279, 18×22/8.

Kohli, Surindar Singh. *Travels of Guru Nanak*. Publication Bureau Punjab University, Chandigarh; pp. 200, 18×22/8, price 15.

- Grewal, J.S. *Guru Nanak in History*. Publication Bureau Punjab University, Chandigarh; 1969; pp. 348, 18×22/8, price Rs. 25.
- Bal, Sarjit Singh. *Life of Guru Nanak*. Publication Bureau Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1969; pp. 283, 18×22/8, price Rs. 20.
- (ed). *Guru Nanak in the eyes of Non-Sikhs*. Publication Bureau Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1969; pp. 168, 18×22/8, price Rs. 15.
- Dewitt, John. *Indian Workers' Association in Britain*. Oxford University Press, London, 1969; pp. 194, price 25/- sh.
- Roy, Atul Chandra. *History of Bengal, Mughal Period (1526-1765 A.D.)*. Navbharat Publishers, Calcutta, 1968; pp. 525, 18×22/8. Price Rs. 20.

Panjabi

- Piar Singh (ed.). *Janam-patri Baba Nanak ji ki*. Pub. Editor, Patiala, 1969; pp. lii+104, 18×22/8, price, ordinary, Rs. 10, Library ed., Rs. 12.
- Kirpal Singh. *Janam Sakhi Parampara*. Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969, pp. xxxv+166+401, 1'×22/8.
- Gurbux Singh. *Masti da Namazi Guru Baba Nanak*. Punjabi University, Patiala, 1970, pp. 104, 18×22/8, price Rs. 5.
- Taran Singh. (Ed. & trans.) *Guru Nanak Bani Prakash*. two volumes, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969; pp. Vol. I, 1-767, and Vol. II, 768-1548.
- Padam, Piara Singh (ed). *Guru Granth Vichar Kosh*. Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969; pp. 521, 18×22/8.

Editorial

Among the most significant works on Guru Nanak published recently has been Dr W. H. McLeod's *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* (Oxford University Press, London, 1968). The book has occasioned considerable comment, some of it unfavourable and hostile. Even his motive has been questioned. Since certain principles of historiography and of critical appraisal are involved, it might be pertinent here to examine this criticism in some detail.

It can perhaps be stated without reserve that Dr McLeod has, like an honest research worker and an inquisitive student of history, done his best to probe the historicity of the various events connected with the life of Guru Nanak. He has made a comparative study of the primary sources like the *janamsakhis* and early accounts of the Guru's life written by his followers. He has plainly put forward his conclusions, rejecting some of the stories, while accepting some as probable and not improbable. Dr McLeod's effort to reconstruct a historical outline of Guru Nanak's life was certainly worth the trouble. But in the absence of any contemporary chronicle or historical records or memoirs of the persons with whom the Guru came into contact at different places, no attempt, however sincere and honest, is likely to achieve the desired result in the immediate future. It is sad, but undeniable.

The first person to come into the field of research in Sikh history was Sardar Karam Singh, the well known historian of the Sikhs. According to him, "objective evaluation of evidence is more difficult than the discovery of historical evidence itself." "It is important," he says that "he (researcher) should have a generous mind and he should not be narrow-minded. He should be free from prejudices and partialities of all kinds. Partiality of any kind—religious, communal or social—is a great hindrance in the way of research. Objective evaluation of evidence in research is the work of cool-minded people, of those who can tolerate and endure the views opposed to their own and who, in order to prove or strengthen their own point of view, do not seek shelter and support of the religious, communal and social

views and sentiments of the common people. To do that is not objective research" (*Phulwari, Itihas Number*, December 1929, January 1930).

Over sixty years ago, Sardar Karam Singh made a comparative study of the *janamsakhis* and other relevant works, checking them up with contemporary literature in different languages. In some cases he arrived at conclusions which came as staggering blows to the commonly accepted beliefs of the Sikhs fed on traditional and *Purana*-like fictional material mixed up with the Guru's biographies called *janamsakhis*. He wrote a number of papers and a book, *Katik kih Basakh*, on this subject, criticizing the *janamsakhis*. But he was soon taken away from this subject; his next subject, the nineteenth century history of the Sikhs, kept him occupied till his death on September 10, 1930.

After him no serious attempt was made to continue the work on *janamsakhis*, evidently for three reasons:

First, the scholars who could take up the work with some hope of success were staunch believers in the traditions as they had come down and they could not tolerate the slightest departure under the pious plea that it would interfere with the faith of the common man.

Secondly, the Sikh press, with very few exceptions, was in the hands of either politicians or semi-literate persons who had no awareness of or interest in modern research methodology and who were ever ready to ridicule the researcher and his discoveries and observations if they found him saying things which they had not read or heard of.

Thirdly, the research workers had very meagre resources available to them in money, manuscripts and other facilities. Thus circumstanced, the poor research scholar of the early decades of the century, whether he was a Bhai Ram Kishan Singh or a Sardar Karam Singh, with all his devotion and determination, could not feel encouraged to continue his research work in the history of the Sikhs and had, with a heavy heart, at times, to drift into other channels. Thus came to an end, for a time at least, the study and scrutiny of *janamsakhi* and other similar material for the reconstruction of the historical life of the Founder of the Sikh faith.

The approaching birth-quincentenary of Guru Nanak gave a fresh incentive for work on the life history of the Great Master. But scholars working on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have not been able to rise to the occasion with the result that the mist, that had gathered during the centuries round the historical events of the Guru's

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life, has not been completely pierced through. The truth still lies buried under the thick layers of myth.

The obscurity and darkness about the events of the Guru's life must go, if the real Master has to be discovered. And this can only be done in the light of objective history. The two cannot live together. There can be no compromise between history and fiction, between light and darkness and between truth and falsehood. The fictional traditions must be discarded—the sooner the better. The younger generation of the Sikhs, living in a scientific age, when myths are being daily exploded in the light of scientific discoveries, is getting sceptic about many a story woven round the lives of the Gurus. They want a clear and acceptable explanation about them, and, if it is not forthcoming in the light of objective history, they refuse to accept them. They are not to blame for it. They are seekers after truth and they must have it. The fault lies with those who cannot give them the right answer. In most cases, they do not know it themselves. The ignorant cannot guide the ignorant. They will land them in greater darkness. Therefore, for the sake of light and truth, in the interest of truthful history of our Gurus and our ancestors, for our own enlightenment and for that of the rising Sikh generation, an all-out effort has to be made in the search of truth and to get as near it as possible, rejecting all untruthful accretions. In this effort we should be thankful to all those who help us getting nearer to our goal. Our best friends in this are those who point out to us the direction we should follow and the pitfalls that lie in the way of success.

No history in the world, we know, is all-correct and all-perfect, and that is the only apology for the ever-increasing demand for, and growth and development of, research institutions and centres in different countries. The Sikhs have generally neglected research in their history and it is lamentably true that they have not only discouraged the establishment of research centres, but have actually starved them to death. Sardar Karam Singh, the pioneer in the line, could not continue his project for want of financial support. Bhai Ram Kishan Singh of Ropar had to abandon his researches for the same reason. The Sikh History Society established at Lahore in 1931 had to be wound up soon after the death of Bawa Budh Singh, its chief supporter. Another society of the same name established at Amritsar in 1945 lingered on for some time but it had to stop its work because the richest Sikh religious body, with an annual budget of over a crore of

rupees, stopped its grant of Rs. 100/- a month towards the office expenses of the Society including the salary of its clerk.

Through his reluctance to accept a number of *sakhis* as probable, Dr McLeod has pointed out that there is a good deal amiss in them historically, geographically or chronologically that makes one doubt their veracity. The accounts of the Guru's odysseys as given in the *janamsakhis* are so conflicting and confusing, and so ungeographically set, that it is well nigh impossible to accept them with all their details.

Some useful work in this direction has recently been done at the Punjabi University, Patiala, through the International Seminar on *Guru Nanak's Life and Teachings*, organized by the Department of Religious Studies, the Punjab History Conference (Fourth Session, March 1969) and the Department of History and Punjab Historical Studies, and at the Panjab University, Chandigarh, through its History Department. But there are many a mile that are yet to be gone before we are in sight of the goal. The *janamsakhi* material has to be thoroughly scrutinized and checked up with relevant literature available in other languages and countries and with traditions prevalent there. This needs continuation of research with consistent, patient and hard labour which must at no stage be grudged. The path is no doubt dark and the journey dreary. But nothing should hold us back. We must proceed on with unflinching devotion in spite of all hurdles that beset our way.

II

Having said this, we now come to some of the reviews of Dr W. H. McLeod's book *Guru Nanak and Sikh Religion* which had prompted us to discuss the points mentioned above. Our observations are purely suggestive so that they may be helpful to scholars in similar circumstances in future.

Calling Dr McLeod's approach at variance with his principle, a reviewer says :

"The *Janamsakhi*, thus constitute the primary source for reconstructing the life of Guru Nanak. But Mr McLeod has outrightly rejected the *Janamsakhis* as he wrote in his Preface at the very outset : "A cursory reading at once reveals the unreliable nature of those works as record of actual life of the Guru."

The reviewer here has unfortunately misquoted the sentence of

Dr McLeod and has torn into two pieces by putting a "full stop" in place of a "comma", thus so twisting the entire trend and context of the sentences as to prove that "Mr McLeod has outrightly rejected the *Janamsakhis*." In fact, it is the second part of the sentence, which has been torn off by the "full stop," which conveys what Dr McLeod has really to say about the *janamsakhis*.

In the actual sentence, Dr McLeod has nowhere *outrightly* rejected the *janamsakhis*. On the other hand he says that '*they constitute our only source of any importance*'. (The italics are ours.) We quote here the whole paragraph with the full sentence in its proper context for the readers to see for themselves whether Dr McLeod has actually '*outrightly* rejected the *Janamsakhis*'.

"The sources which have been used for the first of the tasks are the hagiographic accounts called 'janam-sakhis.' A cursory reading at once reveals the unreliable nature of these works as records of the actual life of the Guru, but they constitute our only source of any importance and we are accordingly compelled to use them as best we can. In order to do so a number of creteria has been posited. The creteria are applied to individual *sakhis* or 'incidents', and in this manner a decision is reached concerning the extent to which any such *sakhi* can be accepted. It should be noted that the rejection of the much contained in the janam-sakhis should not imply that these works lack significance and that having rejected many of their traditions in the context of a study of Guru Nanak we can afford to ignore them altogether. For an understanding of later Sikh history they retain a vital importance which has been obscured by the failure to detach them from the person of historical Nanak. If, however, our subject is Guru Nanak, and if our method is historical, much that they contained must inevitably be rejected."—*Perface*, vii-viii.

There could be no greater injustice than misquoting or quoting out of context an author whose work one sets out to review.

In the paragraph just quoted, Dr. McLeod has said exactly, but in a more cautious language, what Sardar Karam Singh had said during the early decades of the century. He has thus done a great service in reminding scholars, directly and indirectly, of their duty to discover the true, historical and real Guru Nanak from the unfathomed mounds of unacceptable accretions of legends and fictions that have gathered

round him during the centuries and have hidden his real brilliance and true light that would inspire his followers to lead more truthful and meaningful lives.

Referring to 'Dhanasari des', one of the reviewers has quoted a sentence from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IX, p. 286, as follows:

"Upper portion of Dhanasari Valley is a plain of considerable width shut between Nagas and Mukir Hills, covered with dense tree forests except in the neighbourhood of Golaghat."

The actual sentence in the *Gazetteer* is :

"The upper portion of the Dhansiri valley is a plain of considerable width, shut in between the Naga and the Mikir Hills, and covered with dense tree forest; and, except in the neighbourhood of Golaghat, the greater part of the course lies through jungle land."

There is a lot of difference between the two versions. We are, however, concerned here only with the *Dhanasari des*. The actual word in the *Gazetteer* is *Dhansiri* as given above, and not 'Dhanasari' as given in the review. The reviewer has added 'a' of his own to make the word suit his contention. This could have been taken as a printing mistake but the word in its changed form has been repeated by the reviewer in another journal as well.

In another place the reviewer writes :

"But in the *Sakhi* there is a specific mention of Raja Samunder whom Mr McLeod has read as *Sham Sunder* (see page 42)."

Actually, Dr McLeod has not read Samunder as *Sham Sunder*. Of the two names that he found associated with this *sakhi* in the *janamsakhis*, he has given one, Sham Sundar, in the text and the second *Samundar* in footnote No. 1, below on the same page, 42, saying :

"This is the name given by *Hafizabadi* manuscript. The Colebrooke manuscript gives Samundar."

There is, as such, no misreading by Dr McLeod of the word 'Samundar' here. The name of the Raja of *Asa Des* is given as 'Syam Sunder' in *sakhi* 28, on page 115 (lines 15 and 16) of *Hafizabadi janamsakhi*, published by M. Macauliffe at Rawalpindi, November 15, 1885.

Another reviewer has found fault with the approach and method of Dr McLeod, saying that the image sought to be projected is rather

weak and disappointing. The author has, in fact, followed the same method as suggested by the reviewer 'to make the writings of Bhai Gurdas and Meharban the basis...' Discussing the relative value of the different *janamsakhi* traditions, he attaches a greater degree of trust to Bhai Gurdas's account giving the second position to *Meharban Janamsakhi* and *Puratan Janamsakhi*. As to the weakness of the image, the fault lies with the source material and with elements therein which have encrusted its brilliance with impenetrable accretions.

The picture, as it is painted on the basis of *Gurbani*, the Word of the Guru, is very brilliant indeed. Here Dr McLeod's training in theology has greatly helped him in delving deep into the Guru's compositions and in understanding, appreciating and presenting his teachings in a very lucid and convincing manner.

There are yet a few other reviewers who do not appear to belong to the discipline of objective history themselves. They have doubted the intention of the author without understanding them and have imputed to him motives which have no bases. Dr McLeod claims no infallibility for himself. One may not always agree with all that he says about the *janamsakhis*. But there is no denying the fact that, as they are, they are not acceptable in all their details, nor are they, as such, reliable sources for the construction of a historical biography. This is what Sardar Karam Singh said over six decades ago, and this is what has been said again and again by other scholars. To doubt anyone's intentions or to impute motives is morally wrong, if nothing else. Knowing Dr McLeod personally for several years working on the *janamsakhis* and other relevant material, I can say with confidence that his interest in the subject is genuine and his motives are honest and pure.

Dr McLeod's observations on the *sakhis* relating to Guru Nanak's visits to Mecca and Baghdad have unduly upset some of the reviewers and writers. In their fury they seem to have been thrown off their balance and have thus come to use harsh language in referring to the author.

Credulousness is not a praiseworthy quality in a research scholar, nor is scepticism a great defect. If a research worker were credulous, too ready to believe anything, he is unfit for an objective study. If he were faced with conflicting accounts of an event in his main sources, as the *janamsakhis* are for the life of Guru Nanak, he

naturally becomes wary. He cannot believe them all to be true and acceptable. If one of his sources comes from a relative of the third Guru, the other one comes from a direct descendant of the fourth. While one of them is writing a poetical eulogy, the other one is writing a *janamsakhi* in prose. One should be able to see the predicament in which a research worker is thus placed. He has, in such a case, no alternative but to doubt and reject what is insupportable, unmindful of his being dubbed as sceptic or incredulous.

As I tried to say in the editorial for Vol. III, 1969, pp. 13-14, the visit of the Guru to Mecca is not improbable. The difference of opinion is only about the details of the incidents mentioned in the *janamsakhis*. According to Bhai Gurdas, the physical movement of Ka'ba took place in Mecca, while, according to Meharban, it was in a village of Muslim *Maulanas*—not very far away from the Indian frontier—on the way to Mecca. Bhai Bala makes no mention of the movement of the Ka'ba at Mecca and associates this incident with Prophet Muhammad's grave at Medina.

These varying and conflicting accounts in the *janamsakhis* do raise in the minds of scholars suspicions about their veracity and hesitation to accept them as source material for the construction of a historical biography. A credulous man may accept these legends, associated as they are in the *janamsakhis* with different places and countries during the Guru's journey to Arabia. But a researcher or a writer trained in historical discipline will not be able to accept them in their entirety.

Dr McLeod's observations on the visits of Guru Nanak to Mecca and Baghdad have greatly upset several of the reviewers and writers and have led some to use strong language. They are working on the supposition that the Baghdad stone-inscription is as it was in the sixteenth century, drawing their conclusions from the photographs of the inscription that have been published. But this is not the fact. The truth is that the stone-inscription has not always been in its present place. Subedar-Major Fateh Singh, who was Assistant Censor at Baghdad in 1917-18, tells us that "Early in April 1917 the stone was not in the wall where it is at present" (May 9, 1918). For several years before the occupation of Baghdad by the British Indian forces during the First World War, it had been lying uncared for on the ground or buried under it from where it was dug out by the care-

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taker of Bahlol Dana's tomb. That should explain why it did not come to the notice of Sardar Karam Singh who visited Baghdad before the war (1914-18). Sardar Karam Singh "fixed a place just outside Ghulam Qadir Jilani's gate, to the north-east of the town as the abode of Guru Nanak during his sojourn here," says Sardar Fateh Singh. But the graveyard where the tomb of Bahlol Dana is situated, and also the platform with the stone-inscription, referred to above, lies in quite the opposite direction — west of the town across the river Tigres.

The present inscription is different from the one bearing the date 912 Hijri mentioned by Sri Ananda Acharya in his *Snow Birds* (pp. 182-84), referring to the meeting of Guru Nanak with Fakir Balol. Sri Ananda Acharya's date does not seem to be correct. Of the earliest sources, it is only Bhai Gurdas who makes a mention of the Baghdad visit. The Meharban and the '*Puratan*' *janamsakhis* are silent about it. So is *Shambhunath-wali Janam-Patri*. The later *janamsakhis* mentioning the event do not agree with one another in their details.

It is an undeniable fact that the inscription has been tampered with more than once. The stone was very roughly handled and tossed about carelessly when it had fallen down from its original place and had been lying there uncared for in the debris.

According to Subedar-Major Sardar Fateh Singh, the original date in the inscription was 927 (and not 917), and the same was copied in his note-book by the caretaker himself and it also appeared as such in the photographs taken in 1917. But as the photographs were not clear enough in all their details, the stone was later scrubbed with a hard wire-brush causing a good deal of corrosion and damaging the inscription, particularly the date which stood all alone in the fifth line at the bottom. The small semi-circular part on the right side of the Arabic figure "2" in 927 came to be corroded and mutilated, leaving it as "1" (one). It was white-washed for photography purpose, to give a clear background, and the letters were gone over with black paint. It is in the photographs taken in January and February 1918, and afterwards, that the date has come out as 917 (Hijri).

It may be mentioned here that the slab bearing the inscription is not of hard granite, but of an inferior type of corrosive sand-stone, and the effects of corrosion and mutilation could be clearly seen and

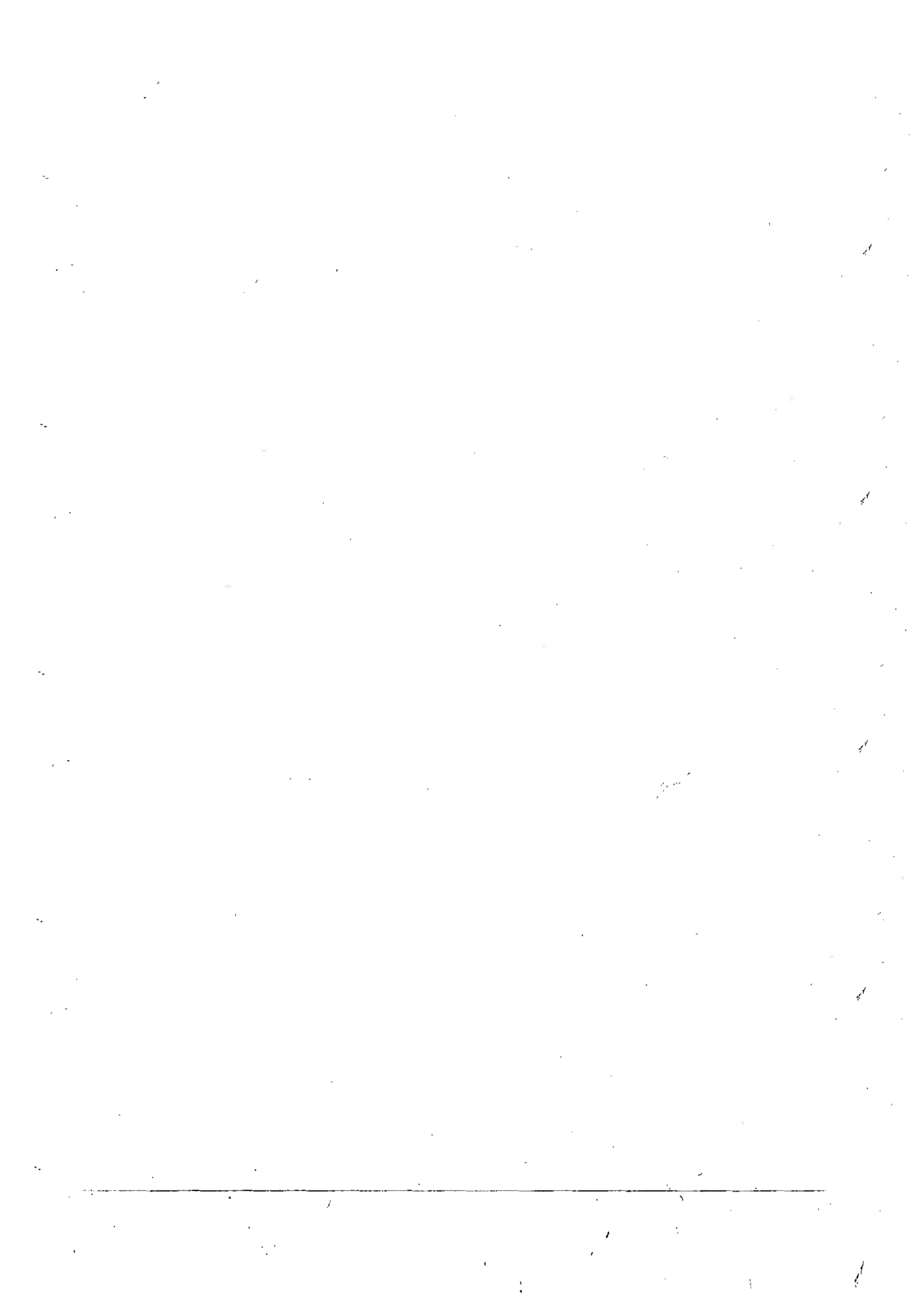
easily felt with fingers in 1921.

I have mentioned this at some length on the basis of my personal knowledge for the information of the writer who has, evidently, not seen the slab and has written his review with only the 1918 or later printed photographs before him and has, therefore, said that "The inscription is not a pencil sketch or a writing on paper that could be erased, over-written or tampered with."

No author is infallible. He is a human being, and a human being is a compound of errors, as goes an Arabic saying. There is nothing wrong in pointing out to him a mistake if it has crept into his book. An honest author would always be grateful for it to his reviewer if it is not couched in stinging phraseology. Who does not know the amount of time, labour, money and, above all, mental strain, that go into the making of a book? He, therefore, deserves sympathy, and not carping criticism.

October 15, 1970

Ganda Singh





*An Interesting Teracotta Figurine from Sunet
Front and Side views*

An Interesting Terracotta Figurine from Sunet

DEVENDRA HANDA

Sunet, situated in Lat. 30°55' North and Long. 75°51' East, about 5 km. west of Ludhiana (Punjab), is a well-known ancient site which has yielded, besides other things, a large number of Kushan and Yaudheya coins and coinmoulds and terracotta seals and sealings mostly of the Gupta period.¹ Recently the present writer has obtained from this site an interesting terracotta figurine which has been described in the following lines.

It is a broken terracotta male head of a warrior (Fig. 1). The figurine is 2 inches in height. The male depicted here is shown wearing a conical hat typical of warriors during the Kushan period. It is an interesting piece because of its foreign (Sassanid) ethnic features—long contemplating eyes, pointed nose, protruding upper lip, long drawn up muscles of the cheeks, long drawn mouth, receding chin. It bears a slanting cut mark on the right side.

Probably the Kushans had stationed their garrison at Sunet to fight against the Yaudheyas who ultimately vanquished them and made it their own mint site,² and it was from amongst the Kushan forces that similar faces could be noticed commonly. The local artist got the inspiration and produced similar faces in terracotta.

Being the first to be found from Sunet, it is of unique importance and can be classed amongst the most interesting terracotta figurines found from the Panjab.

¹ James Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. I, pl. IV; Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, XIV, pp. 65-7 and 139-45 pl. XXXI; A. F. R. Hoernle, *Proc. ASB*, LIII (1884), pp. 137-40; C. J. Rodgers, *Catalogue of Coins*, Part III, Calcutta, 1895, pp. iv and 130-3 and 151-2; *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 98 ff; *APR* Pb. Circle, 1907-8, pp. 45 ff; *APR*, Northern Circle, 1916-17, p. 7; Birbal Sahni, *Current Science*, vol. X, No. 2 (March 1914), pp. 65-7, figs. 1-12 and *The Technique of Casting coins in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1945, pp. 32-7 and 61; A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228, fig. 183; G. Fouilles *En Cochinchine* *Coads, Artibus Asiae*, vol. X, p. 197; *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 71 f., xx, pp. 67-9; XXVII, pp. 98-9; XXIX, pp. 30-1 and 38; XXX, pp. 222-3, XXXI, i, pp. 75-6, Pl. II. 7, 8. Also see V. S. Agrawal, *JNSI*, IV, p. 47 and *India As known To Panini*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 74.

² A. S. Altekar in *The Vakataka-Gupta Age* (Eds. R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar), Benaras, 1954, p. 27.

Serai Nur Mahal

R. B. PANDIT SHEO NARAIN*

"The *serai* is 551 feet square outside, including the octagonal tower at the corners. The western gateway is a double storeyed building faced on the outside with red sand-stone from the Fatehpur Sikri quarries. The whole front is divided into panels ornamented with sculpture; but the relief is low and the workmanship coarse. There are angels and fairies, elephants and rhinoceroses, camels and horses, monkeys and peacocks, with men on horseback and archers on elephants. The sides of the gateway are in much better taste, the ornaments being limited to foliated scrollwork with birds sitting on the branches. But even in this the design is much better than the execution, as there is little relief. Over the entrance there is a long inscription.

"There was also a similar gateway on the eastern side, but this is now only a mass of ruin, and all the stone facing has disappeared. There was also an inscription over this gateway, which will be given presently, as a copy of it was fortunately preserved by one of the inhabitants.

"On the north side of the courtyard there is a *masjid*, and in the middle a fine well. On each side there are 32 rooms, each 10 feet 10 inches square, with a verandah in front. In each corner there were 3 rooms, one large and two small. The Emperor's apartment formed the centre block of the south side, three storeys in height. The rooms were highly finished, but all their beauty is now concealed under the prevailing whitewash. The main room was oblong in shape, with a half-octagon recess on two sides, similar to the large rooms in the corners of the Serai, one of which is shown in the accompanying plate. From this description it will be seen that there was accommodation inside for about 100 people. But the great mass of imperial followers found their quarters outside in an exterior court about 2,000 feet square, some of the walls of which were pointed out to me in November 1838; all these have disappeared now.

"The *serai* is said to have been built by Zakariya Khan, the Nazim

**Journal of the Punjab Hist. Society*, Lahore, Vol. XI-1, pp. 29-34.

of the Subah of Jullundur, during the reign of Jahangir. His inscription, which is cut in sunken letters on the right jamb of the west gateway, says nothing about the building of the *serai*, while the main inscription over the western gateway distinctly states that the *serai* was erected by the order of Nurjahan (*ba hukam Nurjahan Begum*). I suppose, therefore, that the actual work was superintended by Zakariya Khan of whom I can learn nothing, but who appears from this inscription to have been an energetic man. This inscription consists of six short lines as follows :—

Akhaz rahdari abwab mamnua
 bamujab amar Nawab
 Zakariya Khan Bahadur Nazim
 Subah muaf har kas az Faujdaran
 Doabah bagirad, bar zan-i-an
 Talak, talak, talak.

“Taking payment from travellers is forbidden, the Nawab Zakariya Khan Bahadur, Governor of the district having exempted them. Should any Faujdar of the Doab collect these dues, may his wife be divorced.”

“The expressive word *talak* three times repeated at the end of this inscription, means ‘divorce or repudiation’ and its three-fold repetition by a husband is said to be all that is necessary for a formal divorce. As this record is engraved on the gateway of the Badshahi Sarai, I conclude that the rooms of the *sarai* were available for the use of travellers whenever the emperor was not moving himself; or perhaps it was only the outer court, which has now disappeared that was so appropriated.

“The inscription over the eastern gateway must have been put up before that on the western gate, as it gives the earlier date of A. H. 1028 only, whereas the latter gives the later date of A. H. 1030 in addition to that of 1028.

The date is given in the last line, according to the *abjad* or numerical powers of the letters.

“*Abad shud za Nur Jahan Begam in sarai.*”

The whole inscription in five rhyming verses is as follows :—

Over the east of Delhi Gate.

1. *Shah-i-Jahan badaur Jahangir badshah;
Shahinshahi-i-zamin-o-zaman saya-i-Khuda.*
2. *Mamur kard baske jahan ra ba-adl-o-dad,
ta-asman rasid bina bar sar-i-bina.*
3. *Nur-i-Jahan ki hamdam-o-hamsaz khas aust,
farmud in sarai wasi-i-sipahar sa.*
4. *Chun in bina-i-khair ba ru-i-zamin nihad,
bada biua-i-umrash jawid bar baka.*
5. *Tarikh in chun gasht murattib beguft akal,
abad shud za Nur Jahan Begum in sarai.*

1. During the reign of Jahangir Badshah, lord of the universe, King of kings of this world and his time, the shadow of God.
2. The fame of whose goodness and justice overspread the earth. Until it reached even the highest heavens above.
3. His wife and trusted companion, Nur Jahan, commended the erection of this *sarai*, wide as the heavens.
4. When this fortunate building rose upon the face of the earth, May its walls last for ever and ever.
5. The date of its foundation wisdom found in the words :
'This sarai was founded by Nur Jahan Begam.'

"The inscription over the west gateway, which is in four rhyming verses, is as follows:—

Over the west or Lahore Gate.

1. *Badaur adl Jahangir Shah Akbar Shah,
kih-asman-o-zamin misl-au nadarad yad.*
2. *Bina-i Nur Sara shud ba-khitah-i-Phillor,
ba-hukam Nur Jahan Begam-i-farishta-nihad.*
3. *Barai-sal binayash sukhan-war-i-khush guft,
ki shud za Nur Jahan Begam in Sarai abad. 1028.*
4. *Chu shud tamam khirad guft bahar tarikhash,
ba-shud za Nur Jahan Begam in sarai abad. 1030.*

1. During the just rule of Jahangir Shah son of Akbar Shah whose like neither heaven nor earth remembers,
2. The Nur Sarai was founded in the district of Phillor, by command of the angel-like Nur Jahan Begam.

3. The date of its foundation the poet happily discovered : 'The Sarai was founded by Nur Jahan Begam' (1028).
4. The date of its completion wisdom found in the words : 'This Sarai was erected by Nur Jahan Begam' (1030).

"The last half line of this inscription gives the date of A.H. 1030 by merely adding the letter B to the seventh half line, thus changing *shud* to *bashud*, and adding 2 to the number. The words are arranged somewhat differently, the *abad* being placed at the end of line."

I have to offer some remarks regarding the above.

General Cunningham has omitted mention of the baths (*hamams*) close to the well attached to the Mosque. These baths have several rooms in one of which I noticed a chimney just like our modern chimneys. They are now adapted to the requirements of officers who used the building as a rest house.

The northern wall has gradually disappeared, its site being utilized for construction of shops facing the town on the north. In the centre is built a new building used as a Police Station.

The workmanship of the two projecting oriels of the gateway seemed to me to be different from the rest of the stonework. It was very fine and artistic. The small columns and the ceiling were very exquisite. I suspect that both of these oriels had been detached from some other building, possibly some temple and incorporated in their present place. The stone used also appeared to me to be of a different quality from the stone used for the panels of the *facade*. Besides, I noticed a very interesting hole, something like a cylindrical aperture, in the upper storey of the gateway. Just at the back of the window on the arch of the gate which commands the view of the landscape in front, there is a sitting place reached by a couple of steps on both sides from the roof, and behind this sitting place there is that hole. It was obviously not meant for air or light. I inquired from the schoolmaster who showed over the place to me, what purpose could this hole serve. He told me that it was meant to pour down through it burning *Rai* (yellow arsenic) or other explosives over the heads of those below who might force open the gate. In this manner a protection was afforded to the inmates of the *serai* against robbery or dacoity. I must say it was a clever artifice well calculated to achieve the purpose.

It appears that as to Zakariya Khan having superintended the building of the *serai*, General Cunningham appears to be misinformed. I carefully examined the sunken letters containing the prohibition to levy lodging charges. They were certainly not incised before the panel bearing them was fitten up in the building. They clearly appear to be incised afterwards, the very crude shapes of the letters indicate their later incision. There being no date or year given therein, we are not to assume the inscription to be synchronous with the building. I am inclined to think that this prohibition against the levy of *serai* charges was much later. I do not know of any Zakariya Khan *Sooba* of Jullundur but we know of a Nawab Zakariya Khan son of Samad Khan who in 1737 received the title of Khan Bahadur and was appointed governor of Lahore and Multan. Practically he ruled the whole province. It was he who repopulated villages devastated by Sikh plunderers, and encouraged agriculture and vanquished the Sikhs. Under his governorship peace and tranquility reigned in the Punjab. He exercised absolute authority throughout the province until he was defeated by Nadir Shah. (Latif's *History of Panjab*, pages 193, 201, 212). It will thus appear that a century after the construction of the *serai* in A. D. 1619 in the benign rule of this Governor, *serai* taxes were abolished.

Moreover, General Cunningham does not seem to have grasped the meaning of the phrase '*May his wife be divorced*'. It is a form of curse employed by way of imprecation among Muhammadans.

The Punjab News

in the *AKHBAR-I-DARBAR-I-MUALLA*

(preserved in the Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner)

GANDA SINGH

The Rajasthan Archives at Bikaner, may, perhaps, be said to be one of the richest, if not the richest, repository in northern India in its collection of contemporary News-letters of the Mughal days. The old and new capitals of the erstwhile Jaipur State, to which this collection originally belonged, enjoyed comparative peace during the last three centuries, with the result that the State archives and official records remained intact to a great extent. What has been lost, or has not been preserved, is due to causes not unusual in our country—the absence of record-mindedness and of properly organised record offices.

I had come to know of the existence of a valuable collection of *Akhbarat* at Jaipur from the late Dr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who had suggested to me to examine them for first-hand contemporary information regarding the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur in Delhi in 1675. Guru Har Krishan, the eighth Sikh Guru, had, under the orders of Emperor Aurangzeb, been received and looked after by Mirza Raja Jai Singh in Delhi, and Guru Tegh Bahadur had accompanied Maharaja Ram Singh to Assam. I had, therefore, expected to find some authentic records about them in the State archives. Through the courtesy of the late Sardar Bahadur Sir Teja Singh, then Chief Engineer in Jaipur, and Mr. B. N. Timani, the Superintendent of the Department, I was able to examine the Mughal News-letters, properly called the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, in September and December, 1944, and January, 1945. From what I was then able to explore, I can say that next only, perhaps, to the Maratha collections of News-letters, the old Historical Records of the Diwan-i-Hazoori of Jaipur, now preserved in Bikaner, are a mine of rich historical information regarding the reigns of Emperors Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah, Jehandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar. I was told that a large number of records were also lying in some of the old cham-

bers. I hope they have since been rescued from the ravages of white ants and transferred to the State Archives.

As I was interested mostly in the Panjab news, with particular reference to the Sikhs, I devoted my attention to the selection and copying of these alone. And, I am glad to say that my labour was amply rewarded as I was able to collect News covering 222 foolscap pages, beginning with the 9th year of Aurangzeb's reign to the 7th of Farrukh Siyar's. The *Akhbars* of Emperor Aurangzeb are not continuous and complete. There are big gaps, both in months and years. I am inclined to believe that some of these gaps will be filled up when all available papers have been rescued, brought to the Record office and, there, properly preserved. In the *Akhbars* of Bahadur Shah, Jehandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar, however, there are much smaller gaps, in some cases only of days.

The Mughal Emperors had an elaborate system for the collection of news from all over the country through a network of official news-writers, called the *Akhbar-nawis*, *waqai-nawis*, *waqai-nigar*, etc., who sent through *harkaraks* or couriers their *parcha* or *fard-i-akhbar* (news-sheet) to their chief at the capital or in the Imperial Camp. The latter, who was a trusted official of the state, submitted these *Akhbars*, in a consolidated form, to the Emperor. The *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*, thus, were not exclusively the News of the Imperial Court, as the title would suggest, but were generally summaries of the News submitted to the Emperor, with a brief record of His Majesty's reactions and orders thereon. These, in turn, were transmitted to various *subahs* and states by their respective news-writers or, sometimes, a central agency, to keep their masters or subscribers in touch with what was going on at the Imperial Court and in different parts of the country. In the same way was the Jaipur collection of the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* made.

The Punjab news in the above *Akhbars* throw a flood of new light on the history of the province, especially during the reigns of Emperors Bahadur Shah, Jehandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar, with which they deal the most. And, when read along with the diary-like, but more detailed, contemporary account of Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, who was an eye-witness of many an event recorded by him in the *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chughata*, they should be of immense value in the reinterpretation and reconstruction of the

history of that period.

The *Akhbars* of Aurangzeb's reign deal mostly with administrative matters. Excepting that of the Sikhs, there was then no religious or political movement in the Punjab to be mentioned in the News-letters. And, of the Sikhs there is no mention in them. This is, however, compensated by the abundance of news regarding Banda Singh, popularly called Banda, during the reign of Aurangzeb's three successors.

It is not possible to give here a detailed survey of the *Akhbars*. I will, therefore, confine myself only to a few of them which are of great historical importance in moulding our views about men and events of those days.

Ajit Singh, not the son of Guru Gobind Singh—

There are a number of entries in the *Akhbars* about Ajit Singh who is mentioned therein as "the son of Guru Gobind Singh." Orders were issued by Emperor Bahadur Shah on the 26th of Sha'ban of the 2nd year of his reign, October 30, 1708, to grant to him a *Khilat-i matami*, or a robe of mourning, after the death of the Guru. On the 13th of Sha'ban in the 4th regnal year (September 26, 1710), when the Emperor was moving against Banda Singh, Ajit Singh was brought to the royal presence by Raja Chaturisal Bundela and was detained in the Camp in his custody. He was, later on, on the 17th Ziqada (December 27), ordered to be handed over to Kar-Talab Khan, and sometime later to Sarbrah Khan. On the 1st day of Bahadur Sah's 6th regnal year (1st of Zil-hijja, 1123 al-Hijri, December 30, 1711 A.D.), he presented a *nazar* of 9 *ashrafis* to His Majesty, and the latter was pleased to grant to him the village of Chak Guru, the present city of Amritsar.

This Ajit Singh was not the son of Guru Gobind Singh. The Guru's eldest son Ajit Singh had been killed in the battle of Chamkaur in December, 1704. This Ajit Singh of the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* was a goldsmith's son, brought up by *Mata* Sundri, the widow of Guru Gobind Singh, and was so named by her in memory of her son, the real Ajit Singh. But the adopted Ajit Singh was too ambitious a youngman to have much regard for the sentiments and wishes of the *Mata*, or for the relics of the Guru, and had to be disclaimed and disinherited by her. He met an ignominious death by being dragged behind an elephant during the reign of

Muhammad Shah in 1134 al-Hijri, 1722 A. D., for a wrongful allegation of abetment of murder of a Muslim mendicant. (cf. Rai Chatarman, *Chahar Gulshan*, 140-41.)

Banda Singh was not A Sikh Guru—

It will be interesting to know that Banda Singh has been referred to and mentioned in the *Akhbars* as *Guru*, Gobind, *Guru* Gobind and *Guru* Gobind Singh, and, strange as it may appear, the mistake has persisted throughout the period of his political activity for six years, beginning with the 4th year of Bahadur Shah's reign, when he first appeared in the Imperial News, to the 5th of Farrukh Siyar's when he finally disappeared from the stage after his execution in Delhi on the 29th Jamadi-us-Sani, 1128 al-Hijri, June 9, 1716 A. D. As every one knows, Banda Singh was not a Guru of the Sikhs. The Guruship had ended with the tenth and the last *Guru* Gobind Singh. Banda Singh was only a political leader of the Sikhs, having been nominated by the last *Guru* as Commander of the forces of the Khalsa.

His attitude towards the Muslims—

Banda Singh, a disciple of *Guru* Gobind Singh, was the first man, after the *Guru* himself, in the beginning of the eighteenth century to oppose the mighty Mughal Empire and to carve out a Sikh principality in the Panjab and to pave the way for the conquest of the province, half a century later, by the Sikh Misaldars. The Jaipur News-writer at the Imperial Court tells us in his report, written some time before the battle of Sirhind (fought on May 13, 1710), that the Sikhs, then under the leadership of Banda Singh, had a deep-rooted hatred for Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sirhind, "for the murder of the young sons of *Guru* Gobind Singh". Otherwise, Banda Singh had no hatred for the Muslims as such. Except those killed in the battle of Sirhind, including the *faujdar* himself, or some of the associates of Wazir Khan, no one else was touched. In fact, after the occupation of Sirhind (on the 26th of Rabi-ul-awwal, 1122 A.H., May 14, 1710), the Sikhs, according to the same reporter, issued such strict orders as not to permit even the killing of a single animal.

On the 7th of Jamadi-ul-awwal, June 23, five weeks after the victory and occupation of Sirhind, Banda Singh told Jan Muhammad, the *Zamindar* of Gulab Nagar (the new Sikh name given to the town of Buriya):

ترا زمیندار کل پرگنہ نموده ایم و تقصیرت کہ کرده بودی معاف نمودیم۔ باید کہ باجمیت خود رفتہ سردارخان زمیندار چوندلم را بیارو۔ باز برائے تنبیہ جلال خان ہمراہ خواہی شد۔

“I have forgiven your crime and made you the zamindar of the whole parganah. You should proceed with your men and bring in Sardar Khan, zamindar of Chundla. Then you will accompany me for the chastisement of Jalal Khan Afghan.”

An edict of Bahadur Shah—

On the 29th of Shawwal, 4th regnal year (1122 al-Hijri, December 10, 1710 A. D.), Emperor Bahadur Shah, from his Camp in the neighbourhood of Lohgarh near Sadhaura, “directed *Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik* Mahabat Khan to issue edicts to the *faujdar*s in the neighbourhood of Shahjahanabad to kill the worshippers of Nanak (the Sikhs) wherever they were found.” The original entry runs as follows:—

۲۹ شوال سنہ . بہ بخشی الممالک مہابت خان بہادر فرمودند کہ حسب الحکم والا بنام فوجداران نواح شاہجہان آباد بنویسید کہ نانک پرستان را ہر جا کہ بیابند بقتل رسانند۔

Muslims in Banda Singh's Army—

The above edict for an indiscriminate massacre of the Sikhs seems to have brought no change in Banda Singh's policy. Although himself pursued from place to place, he did not, evidently, wish to reduce his struggle to the level of a communal strife. His was a political struggle. He would not, therefore, impose any religious restrictions upon the Muslims. And they flocked to him in large numbers. The following news are self-explanatory:—

۲۱ ربیع الاول سنہ بھاتوقی داس ہرکارہ فرسے بہ معرفت ہدایت اللہ خان بموجب ذیل بہ نظر گذرانید :-
 ۱) نانک پرست مقہور لٹایت ۱۹ شہر حال در قصبہ کلانور مقام دارو۔ دریں ولا قولے دادہ و عہد نمود کہ مردم مسلمین را آزار ندہم۔ چنانچہ ہر کس مسلمین رجوع می شوند۔ یومیہ و مواجب مقرر نمودہ ننگاد می دارد۔ و اجازت دادہ کہ خطبہ و نماز می خواندہ باشند۔ چنانچہ پنج ہزار کس مسلمین جمع شدہ رفاقت مقہور ^{انجمن} کردہ از بانگ و نماز در فوج مقہوران آرام یافت۔

“21st Rabi-ul-Awwal, 5th Regnal year (April 28, 7111)

Bhagwati Das *harkarah*, through Hidayatullah Khan, presented to His Majesty a news-sheet reporting that

(1) The wretched Nanak-worshipper has his camp in the town of Kalanaur up to the 19th instant. During this period he has promised and proclaimed, ‘I do not oppress the Muslims’. Accordingly, for any Muslim who approaches him, he fixes a daily allowance and wages, and looks after him. He has permitted them to read *Khuba* and *Namaz*. As such, five thousand Muslims have gathered round him. Having entered into his friendship, they are free to shout their call and say their prayers in the army of the wretched (Sikhs)”.

This is mentioned in other news also saying :—

گورو مقهور در قصبہ کالانور آمدہ پایہ ادبار قائم آویدہ و از ہنود و مسلمان ہر کہ می رود نوکری کند۔ قریب پنج ہزار سوار مسلمین جمع شدند۔ و ہر روز افزوں می شوند۔ باید دید کہ خواستہ کردگار چیست۔

“The wretched Guru, having established himself in the town of Kalanaur, is taking into his service any Hindu or Muslim who goes to him. Five thousand Muslim horsemen have gathered and are daily increasing. Let us see what God wishes.”

ج الثانی عشر بھگوتی داس ہرکارہ فردسہ عینی بہ معرفت ہدایت اللہ خان بہ نظر انور گذرانید۔ کہ گورو مقهور لوانیہ
م بیح الثانی عشر دو کوسہ قصبہ بٹالہ آوارگی دارد۔ و رام چند نامی سکھان وغیرہ ہمچہ ہفت ہزار سوار
پیاوہ از طرف کوہستان جموں آمدہ رفیق مقهور گردیدہ و ہر کہ ہنود و مسلمین برائے نوکری می آید۔ نگاہ داشتہ
فراک می وید۔ و میگوید کہ ٹوٹ محاف است۔ مقرر نمودہ کہ اگر افواج بیاید متقابلہ بکنند۔ و اگر ریایات عالیشان
رسند۔ براہ کسی جنگل بطرف اجیر شدہ بہ شاہ جہان آباد بروند۔

“13th Rabi-us-sani, 5th regnal year (May 20, 1711)

Bhagwati Das *harkarah*, through Hidayatullah Khan, presented to His Majesty a news-sheet saying that the wretched Guru is encamped (loitering about) at two kos from the town of Batala the 9th Rabi-us-Sani, 5th regnal year. Ram Chand and other Sikhs with up to seven thousand horse and foot have come from the direction of Jammu Hills and have joined him. Whosoever from amongst the Hindus and Muslims comes to him for service is looked after and fed. He has granted the right of booty to them.

It is decided that if the (Imperial) forces come, he will oppose them; if not, they (the Sikhs) will move towards Ajmer via Lakhi Jangal and go to Shahjahanabad."

Banda Singh's negotiations with the Rajput Rajas —

On the 10th of Rabi-us-Sani (4th Bahadur Shahi regnal year), 1122 al-Hijri, May 28, 1710 A. D., it was reported to Emperor Bahadur Shah that Banda Singh had written letters to Raja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur and Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, and that they had replied back to him. Evidently the reply was in the negative. For some time they waited for orders from the Imperial Headquarters to march against the Sikh leader. On the 19th of Sha'ban of the 5th Bahadur Shahi regnal year (September 21, 1711 A. D.), it was reported that both of these rajas were encamped at the village of Loni in the neighbourhood of the capital and that they had moved 3 kos in the direction of Dabar for the chastisement of Banda Singh.

Banda Singh had by now come out of his mountain recesses and regained much of his lost position and prestige. According to Askar Rao *harkarah's* report of the 1st of Zi'qada of the 5th year, November 30, 1711, the Sikh chief had written to Raja Ajit Singh and Raja Sawai Jai Singh: "Now that you have entered into our country, know ye that ye shall soon find me getting into your country." But the Rajput rajas were steadfast in their proverbial loyalty to the Mughal empire. They killed the Sikh spies (messengers), says the report, and said: "We are *khana-zad* (slaves) of the Empire. The wretched (Sikh leader) shall soon be killed or captured." And they announced by the beat of drum in their camp that if any of the mediators or emissaries of the Sikhs was found there, he should be put to death.

The seal and coin of Banda Singh—

Unlike other adventurers and founders of kingdoms, the Sikh leader, Banda Singh, stands unique in his unpretentious and selfless service to his people. And his noble example was followed by the later Sikh Misaldar conquerers. The *tughra*, or the royal titles on the official *farmans*, and the inscriptions on official seals and coins are emblems of regal authority. But Banda Singh was not actuated by any motives of self glory or self-aggrandizement. He would not permit his name to be mentioned in any document, monogram or inscription. His official seal bore the following inscription as reported to Emperor

Bahadur Shah on the 20th of Jamadi-ul-awwal of the 4th year, July 6, 1710 :—

عظمت نانک گورو ہم ظاہر و ہم باطن است
بادشاہ دین و دنیا آپ سچا صاحب است

“The glory and greatness of Guru Nanak is visible as well as invisible;

The king of the spiritual as well as temporal world is the True Lord himself.”

This was later on replaced by the following:—

دیگ و تیغ و فتح و نصرت بے درنگ
یافت از نانک گورو گوہند سنگھ

“Kettle (the symbol of means to feed the poor), and Sword (the symbol of power to protect the weak and helpless), Victory and Unhesitating Patronage,

Have been obtained from Nanak Guru Gobind Singh.”

And the coin of Banda Singh had the following couplet as its inscription:—

سکہ زد بر ہر دو عالم تیغ نانک و اہب است
فتح گوہند سنگھ شاہ شاہان فضل سچا صاحب است

“Struck coin in the two worlds; the sword of Nanak is the granter of desires;

Victory to Gobind Singh, the king of kings. All grace belongs to the True Lord Himself.”

The death controversy settled—

The *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* have set at rest, for all time to come, the controversy about the death of Banda Singh. Some of the

Sikh writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have allowed a good deal of fiction to be interwoven into this hero's life. According to them he was dragged behind a horse or an elephant and was thrown away in an unconscious state, from which he recovered and, later on, reappeared in the Jammu Hills. There he is said to have lived for twenty-five years more, dying a natural death in 1741 A. D.

The contemporary accounts in Muhammad Harisi's *Ibrat Namah*, Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan's *Tazkira-tu-Salatin-i-Chughata*, Khafi Khan's *Muntakhabul-Lubub*, and the *Farrukh Siyar Namah* by an anonymous author are all unanimous in saying that Banda Singh was executed in Delhi. But if there were any possibility of a doubt at all, that too has been removed by the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* of the 1st of Rajjab of the 5th year of Farrukh Siyar's reign, giving the news of the previous day, 29th Jamadi-us-Sani, 1128 al-Hijri, June 9, 1716. The news runs as follows:—

غزوہ رجب شد عرض رسید کہ ابراہیم خان میر آتش و سربازہ خان کوتوال گرو مقہور را محہ پسہ و ہزردہ نفر ہمراہش
را مودب حکم و انا بسمت درگاہ حضرت خود تظہ متعل آب بسیل خودہ فتوہ بردہ اول پسرش را
بقفل رسانیدہ پیش مقہور دادہ۔ بعد آن مقہور را با عذاب نائے بسیار بقفل رسانیدہ۔ بندہ از بندہ صرا
کردہ۔ ہمراہیانش را نیز بقفل رسانیدند۔

“1st Rajjab, 5th regnal year (June 10, 1716)

Reported that Ibrahim Khan *Mir-i-Atish* and Srabrah Khan *Kotwal*, having taken the wretched Guru, his son and his eighteen companions towards the mausoleum of Khwaja Qutb near Khwaja Fattoo's *ab-i-sabeel* (free drinking water place), according to His Majesty's orders, at first killed his son and placed him before the wretched fellow, and then put him to death with many tortures, and hacked him to pieces, limb by limb. Then they killed his companions also”.

A person hacked to pieces, limb by limb, could not have come to life again and lived for twenty-five years as mentioned by some of the Sikh writers.

Colonel Polier's Account of the Sikhs*

GANDA SINGH

INTRODUCTORY

Colonel Polier's *The Siques* is the first known connected account of the Sikh people written by a European. According to internal evidence provided by references to Mirza Najjaf Khan's hostilities against the Macheri chief (Rao Raja Partap Singh) in 1779-80, the death of Ahmad Shah Durrani (on the night of October 16-17, 1772) 'which had happened about eight or nine years ago', and the conquest of Multan from the Sikhs by Taimur Shah Durrani in February 1780,¹ this paper was written in 1780 (see footnotes 24 and 35). Some eight years later it was read at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (now the Asiatic Society) at Calcutta on December 20, 1787. No copy of it seems to have been left with the office of the Society, nor was it published in the Society's *Journal*. The present copy has been obtained from the India Office Library, London (Orme MS., XIX, pp. 73-83), and I am thankful to its Librarian for his courtesy in arranging to let me have a photostat copy.

Antoine Louis Henri Polier, as that was the full name of Colonel Polier, was a Swiss engineer, nephew of Paul Phillip Polier, the Commandant of Fort St. George (Madras). He entered the service of the East India Company in 1757 and arrived in India in 1758. Having for some time served in Madras and Behar, he was appointed Assistant Engineer at Calcutta with the rank of Captain in the army. His work in the construction of Fort William was highly appreciated by all competent authorities. But as a non-Englishman, he found his way barred to promotion higher than Major. He, therefore, gladly accepted the offer of deputation with Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh. But he soon became the victim of the hostilities of the enemies of Warren Hastings and had to resign his job in 1775. His straitened financial circumstances, however, compelled him to seek employment again and he was readmitted into the Company's service in April 1782 as a

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¹ Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, iii, 163-70; Ganda Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 411; and *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, V. (No. 1843), 438.

Lieutenant-Colonel and was stationed at Lucknow. In 1789 he finally retired from service, returned to Europe and settled down near Avignon in France. There he was murdered by robbers (or revolutionaries) on February 9, 1795.

Oudh in the eighteenth century was the land of art and literature and its capital, Lucknow, was the centre of educational and cultural institutions. Here Colonel Polier came into contact with men of learning and became interested in the history and religions of India. He collected quite a large number of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic manuscripts and he was the first European to secure a complete set of the Vedas which, along with some Persian manuscripts, he presented to the British Museum, London. The Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris possesses a number of his manuscripts, and the Bibliotheque Cantonale of Lausanne, Vaud, Switzerland, 'contains a manuscript catalogue of 120 Oriental works with annotations by Polier'. The Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna, is also said to have a manuscript bearing Polier's name-stamp. The Pote Collection at Eton College (England) was mainly made by him.

Polier was one of the earliest members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, elected on January 29, 1784. He took quite a keen interest in the advancement of the object of the Society and, among other things, communicated to it a paper written by Dr. John Williams (read on February 9, 1787). His own paper on *The Siques or History of the Seekes* was read on December 20, 1787, and another on *The Distillation of Roses as Practised in Insin* and a *Translation of the Inscriptions on Pillars in Feroj Shah Kotla* were read on March 27, 1788. His *Mythologie des Indous* was published posthumously in 1809.

The above information about Colonel Polier is based on Dr. Pratul C. Gupta's *Introduction to Polier's Shah Alam II and His Court* (Calcutta, 1947), Hodson's *Officers of the Bengal Army* (Part III, L-R) and Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. For further details, the inquisitive reader is referred to the *Secret and Public Consultations* in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, the National Archives' *Calendars of Persian Correspondence*, Davies' *Warren Hastings and Oude, Selections from the State Papers of the Governor-General of India* (Warren Hastings), *Bengal Past and Present*, 1910, 1914, etc. etc.

Polier's paper on *The Siques* is evidently based on casual information collected by him during his deputation with Shuja-ud-Daula and the years following his resignation when he occasionally came into

contact with them in the neighbourhood of Delhi and heard a good deal about them in connection with their relations with the Imperialists of Delhi and the Ruhilas, the Jats, the Rajputs and the Marathas. It contains a number of factual mistakes which are not uncommon to foreign writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when, for want of close personal contact, they did not have first-hand knowledge of the history and institutions of the Sikhs, nor, in the absence of authoritative literature and original documents, could they have reliable sources for their studies. Added to this, Polier had his own prejudices against the Sikhs impressed upon his mind by the repeated one-sided reports of the Mughal officials against whom they had been struggling for over eighty years. He, therefore, readily believed whatever information was given to him at the time he wrote his paper. All these I have tried to correct, in the footnotes, in the light of empirical knowledge and reliable material that have now become available.

I have also appended, under II and III, *An Extract from a Letter of Major Polier* written from Delhi on May 22, 1776, to Colonel Ironside at Belgram, and a note on the *Character of the Sieks* (from the observations of Colonel Polier and Mr. George Forster) culled from *The Asiatic Annual Register* for the year 1800 (London, 1801, pp. 32-35) and 1802 (London, 1803, pp. 9-12), respectively.

The letter to Colonel Ironside was written by Polier some eleven years before he read his paper, and the views and impressions expressed therein do not seem to have undergone much change. The writer of the *Character of the Sieks* seems to have studied the observations of both Colonel Polier and George Forster. Forster was a civil servant on the Madras establishment of the East India Company. He was a man of adventure and he left Calcutta on May 23, 1782, on his long and arduous overland journey to England and passed through the north-eastern hilly tracts of the Panjab in February, March and April, 1783. He was a keen observer of men and things and he has recorded his impressions and the information collected during the journey in a series of letters published in 1798 under the title of *A Journey from Bengal to England*. Although, in his own words, Forster was under 'great obligations to Colonel Polier . . . for having furnished me with large historical tracts of the Siques', he had 'no tendency to discolour or misrepresent truth', as it appeared to him. 'Guided by no views of interest nor impressed by any frown of power, I was enabled', he

says, 'to examine the objects that came before me through a dispassionate medium'. And he has succeeded in it to a very great extent. He has devoted his Letter XI, pp. 253-95, to the history and religion of the Sikhs, in addition to occasional references to them in other letters, *vide* i, 128-30, 198-99, 227-28 and ii, 83, 88.

GANDA SINGH

I

THE SIQUES

The Siques date the origin of their sect as far back as the reign of Ackbar, at which time lived in the environs of Lahore a reputed saint named *Gorou Nanak*.¹ (In their language, *Gorou* signifies master or leader and *Sique* a disciple). This man had many followers, who embraced his doctrine, and acknowledged him as the head of a new sect, which, however, during that reign and the three succeeding ones did not increase much, or at least never attempted to rise against the lawful authority. It was not till the reign of Bahadur Shah that they began to appear in arms² and endeavoured to shake off their allegiance, at which time under the direction of a new saint, one *Gorou Govind*,³ they laid the foundation of a kind of republic, which might prove very formidable to its neighbours, and overwhelm them in the end, did not at the same time their disunion, intestine divisions or jealousies prevent them from extending their power so far as they might otherwise.

Originally and in general the Siques are zemindars or cultivators of land, and of that tribe called *Jatts* which, in this part of India, are reckoned the best and most laborious tillers, though at the same time they are also noted for being of an unquiet and turbulent disposition. This tribe of the *Jatts*, one of the lowest amongst the Hindoos, is very

1 The Sikhs trace their origin not to the days of the great Mughal Akbar, but to those of the Lodhis. Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, was born in 1469 during the reign of the first Lodhi king, Bahlol Khan (1450-1488), and died in 1539 during the days of the second Mughal Emperor Humayun (1530-1540). *Sique Siek* or *Sikh* is the Panjabi form of the Sanskrit *Shishya*, meaning a disciple.

2 The first person to appear in arms was the sixth Guru Hargobind (1606-1644) during the reigns of Emperors Jehangir (1605-1627) and Shah Jahan (1627-1658).

3 Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and the last Guru (1675-1708), instituted the baptismal rite, *Khande da Amrit* on March 30, 1699, and created the order of baptized Sikhs or *Singhs* known as the *Khalsa*, which became the basis of the Sikh republics (*misals*) established by the Sikh *Misaldar* Sardars.

numerous and dispersed in all the country from the *Attek* or the Sind to the southward far beyond Agra; and though in that extent, it be intermixed with some others, nevertheless, in those provinces, it is by far the most considerable tribe.

The troubles and rebellions, which disturbed the empire during the tumultuous reign of *Bahadur Shah*, gave the Siques an opportunity of rising in arms, and shaking off the royal authority; this, however, they did by degrees; they fortified themselves at a place called *Ramrowny*,⁴ about 20 cosses this side of Lahore, and there established their principal place of worship, which is at a large tank called *Ambar Sar*,⁵ or *Chak*.⁶

The Siques then began to increase greatly in number, many proselytes were made, some from fear, others from a love of novelty and independence; all that came, though from the lowest and most abject castes, were received, contrary to the Hindoo customs, which admit of no change of caste, and even Musulmen were in the number of the converts. The fame of *Gorou Govind*,⁷ who then made his appearance and of whom many prodigies were related, contributed greatly to establish this sect. This reputed saint soon found himself at the head of a numerous force, and began to make excursions and converts, sword in hand. He exerted himself so successfully, that at last he drew the

4 Ramrowny is a compound of two words 'Ram' and 'raoni'. *Raoni* literally means an enclosure; and the walled enclosure raised by the Sikhs at Amritsar near their temple in April 1748 was named the R m-Raoni after the fourth Guru Ramdas, the founder of Amritsar.

5 Amritsar, the principal place of Sikh worship, was not established at Ram-Raoni but, in fact, Ram-Raoni was established near the Sikh place of worship at Amritsar (called Ambarsar by illiterate people) which had been founded by Guru Ramdas in 1574, one hundred and seventy-four years before the Ram-Raoni came into existence.

6 *Chak*, *Chak-Guru* or Chak Guru Ram-das, was the original name of the city of Amritsar.

7 Here Colonel Pclier, like many other writers before and after him, has confused Banda Singh, a disciple of the Guru, with Guru Gobind Singh. Originally a *Bairagi Sadhu*, Banda Singh was converted to Sikhism by the Guru at Nander (Deccan) in September 1708, and was sent to the Panjab to lead the Sikhs in military expeditions. He arrived in the Panjab in 1709 and conquered the province of Sirhind in the battle of Chappar Chiri on May 12, 1710 (Rabi-ul Awwal 24, 1122 A.H.).

attention of Government towards him. Farockseer⁸ was then on the throne. An army was formed in or about 1715 under the command of Abdul Samad Khan, Subadar of Lahore, and he had orders to exterminate the sect. It was not an easy task, however, after many marches and persuits he came up with their main body, which he totally defeated. He had even the good luck to take *Gorou Govind*⁹ himself prisoner. The Gorou was sent to Delhi, shut up in an iron cage, and afterwards put to death,¹⁰ and his disciples, wherever they were caught, were, on their refusal of turning Mohammedans, immediately executed.¹¹ The chase became so hot after them, and was carried on with so much spirit, and so unrelenting a vigour, that the very name seemed extinct, and those few who still remained, were obliged by shaving off their beard, and hair, to deny their sect and leader.¹² After him, for many years no more mention is made of the Siques, and it was not until some time after Nadir Shah's invasion that they begin to show

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- 8 It was during the reign of Emperor Bahadur Shah (1707-1712) that an army was first sent against Banda Singh who had then to seek shelter in the Shivalik hills in December 1710. The campaign of Abdus-Samad Khan in 1715 during the reign of Farrukh-Siyar was the last one against Banda Singh.
- 9 This was Banda Singh and not Guru Gobind Singh. The latter died at Nander on October 7, 1708.
- 10 Banda Singh was done to death at Delhi on June 9, 1716 (Jamadi-ul-Akhir 29, 1128 A.H.) near the shrine of Khwaja Qutab-ud-Din Bakhtiar Kaki.
- 11 This evidently refers to the edicts issued by Emperor Bahadur Shah (1707-12) and Farrukh-Siyar (1713-19) ordering wholesale massacre of the Sikhs. In the fourth year of his reign (A.D. 1710), Bahadur Shah ordered *Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik* Mahabat Khan on Shawwl 29 (December 10) to write to the *faujdar*s of the territories of Shahjahanabad to kill the Sikhs wherever found—*Nanak-prastan ra har-ja kilt ba-yaband ba-qatl rasanand (Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla)*. This order was repeated soon after the execution of Banda Singh during the reign of Farrukh-Siyar saying: 'wherever found, the followers of this sect should be unhesitatingly killed' (*Miftah-ut-Tawarikh*, p 398).
- 12 There is not a single instance on record to say that any Sikh during this period of persecution shaved off his head or beard or abjured his faith to save his life. The observations of the agents of the East India Company, John Surman and Edward Stephenson, in their letter XII of March 10, 1716, addressed to the President and Governor of Fort William and Council in Bengal, regarding the execution of about 780 Sikh companions of Banda Singh at Delhi are very significant. The letter says: 'There are one hundred each day beheaded. It is not a little remarkable with what patience they undergo their fate, and to the last it has not been found that one has apostatized from the new formed religion.' (Wheeler, *Early Records of British India*, 180).

their head again. However, the gallant Mir Mannou, then Subadar of the provinces of Lahore and Multan, attacked them briskly and gave them little time to get strength; indeed he might have crushed them entirely, had he not at the instigation of *Coraumul*, his Naib or Deputy in the Subadary of Multan, accepted a sum of money¹³ to save their capital Ramrowny which he had surrounded and was on the point of taking. This false step *Coraumul* engaged him to take to lessen the merit, it is said, of *Adina Beg Khan*, a brave and valiant officer (in whom Mir Mannou placed great confidence) who had conducted the expedition against the Siques, and who of course must have gained much glory had they been entirely reduced.¹⁴ However, from whatever motives it might be, the Siques escaped total destruction; they paid largely for it and Mir Mannou who had other work on his hand was no sooner at a distance than they began to strengthen themselves anew. It is true, for some time and while *Coraumul* lived, they were by his influence over them kept in tolerable order and obliged to remain quiet, and moreover Mir Mannou's orders to convert them to Musulmanism or destroy them, wherever they could be found strolling in arms, were also during his life strictly and vigorously executed.

But the anarchy and confusion which ensued after Mir Mannou's death¹⁵ in the provinces of Lahore and Multan, from the different competitors for the Subadary, and the intrigues of his widow, who wanted to retain the Government in her hands and actually was for a considerable time in possession of it, prevented that attention from being paid to the Siques, which their spirit and rebellious principles

13 Kaura Mall helped the Sikhs during the governorship of Mir Mannu (April 1748 to November 1753) not for having 'accepted a sum of money', but because he was a Sikh himself, though not a baptized *Singh*. According to George Forster, 'the preservation of the Sicques from the effect of Meer Munno's success appears to have been largely promoted by the interference of his minister Korah Mul, who being himself a Sicque, naturally became a trusty advocate of the sect.' (*A Journey from Bengal to England*, Vol. I, 284-85; 272-73).

14 In fact the siege of Ram-Raoni was raised in the interests of the government of Mir Mannu himself to secure neutrality of the Sikhs at a time when Ahmed Shah Durrani was invading India (in fact, the Punjab) for the second time in November 1748. As a result of the compromise, ten thousand Sikhs, under the leadership of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, helped Kaura Mall win the final battle (October 1749) against Shah Nawaz Khan in the conquest of the province of Multan. (Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Kaura Mall Bahadur*, 73-82).

15 Mir Mannu died on November 4, 1753 (Muharrum 7, 1167 A.H.).

required. It was then they began to grow formidable and to assume a real independence. They formed themselves into a kind of republic and in the course of a few years possessed themselves of the full Government of the provinces of Lahore and Multan.¹⁶

About that time they attracted the notice of Ahmad Shah *Abdally*, the *Durany* king,¹⁷ whose Country extends to the River Attek, the northern boundary of the Subah of Lahore. Those Duranys are very strict Musulmen; though at the same time, perhaps, the most lawless bloody-minded barbarians on the face of the earth. They saw with rage the progress of the Siques and particularly the manner in which they proceeded towards the Islam or Mohammedan Religion.¹⁸ For the Siques not only destroyed the mosques and profaned the places of worship, but also compelled many Musulmen to embrace their sect, which boasts of violent hatred to that of Mohammed. The Siques besides had at different times, while *Ahmad Shah Abdally* passed through their country in his excursions towards Indostan, severely molested him in his marches, and never failed cutting off his straggling parties, and laying hold of every opportunity of distressing him. All those reasons engaged *Ahmed Shah* to think of chastising them in earnest. He was then, by having jointly with all the Mohammedan Amrahs of this part of Indostan defeated the Mahrattas¹⁹ and drove

16 Lahore was conquered by the Sikhs in April 1765, while Multan had been overrun by them in the summer of 1764. (Qazi Nur Muhammad, *Jang Namah*, 38, 41; Ganda Singh, *Ahmed Shah Durrani*, 308-09).

17 The Sikhs had attracted the attention of Ahmad Shah Durrani in January 1752 when the Shah invaded India for the third time. In March 1758 the Sikhs and the Marathas drove out of Sirhind the Durrani governor, Abdus-Samad-Khan, and a month later, they occupied Lahore, driving out Timur Shah, the son of Ahmad Shah.

18 The Sikhs never entertained any enmity against Islam or Mohammedans as such. To begin with, they had to fight against the tyranny of the Mughal rulers who happened to be Mohammedans, and later on to free their country from the clutches of the Afghans—also Mohammedans—who invaded India and wished to annex the Panjab to their dominions. If at any time, Muslim mosques came to be attacked by them, it was because they were the centres and headquarters of *Jehad* (religious war) against the Sikhs in those days. Otherwise, there are instances of the Sikh Gurus and Sardars building mosques for their Muslim friends and subjects. There might have been some cases, though very rare, of mosques having been desecrated in retaliation for the desecration of Sikh places of worship by Muhammadans.

19 This evidently refers to the battle of Panipat fought on January 14, 1761.

them away to the Deccan, at liberty to turn his arms towards them; accordingly he entered their country with a powerful army. The Siques were in no shape able to face him; they were defeated wherever they presented themselves, and pursued with all the violence and spirit of religious enthusiasm.²⁰ They were forced to fly with their effects, families and cattle into the jungles and impervious woods with which the country abounds and to abandon all the rest to the Duranys.²¹ They, however, still hovered round them at some distance with their cavalry and lost no opportunity of cutting off their stragglers and otherwise distressing them. *Ahmed Shah Abdally*, in the meantime, took their famous place of worship, which was immediately razed to the ground.²² The holy tank was filled up, and a price set on the Siques. Many pyramids were made of their heads, both at Lahore and other places, and in short it is certain that had *Ahmed Shah Abdally* remained three or four years in those parts, the sect would have been at an end though perhaps the country would have been depopulated by it, so very keen were the Duranies in their pursuit of them. Ahmed Shah, however desirous he might be to retain those fine provinces in his possession, could not, it seems, spare so much time to reduce them effectually. The vast extent of his dominions which extended from the Caspian Sea to the Gulf of Sind (and to which he had no other right but from his sword and good fortune), joined to his long absence from home, made it necessary for him to return to quell some revolts which threatened his upper provinces. He therefore contented himself with appointing different Governors to rule the country, and having left a garrison of 4, 000 or 5, 000 men in Lahore he recrossed the Attek and continued his march towards Belk where some chiefs had thrown off their allegiance. The Siques immediately began

20 This took place on February 5, 1762, when the Sikhs suffered a very heavy loss of over ten thousand lives in a day. This disastrous calamity is known among the Sikhs as *Wadda Ghalughara* or the Great Holocaust.

21 This sentence is suggestive of a saying common among the people of these days :

खाधा पीता लाहे दा

रहिंदा अहिमद राहे दा

What we eat and drink is ours;

What remains belongs to Ahmad Shah.

22 This refers to the Sikh temple Darbar Sahib at Amritsar, now known as the Golden Temple, which was blown up with gun-powder by Ahmad Shah Durrani on April 10, 1762.

to avail themselves of his absence, which many circumstances rendered much longer than he at first intended. They rose in arms everywhere and fell on the Duranies on all sides. They surrounded Lahore and after some time obliged the garrison to surrender at discretion.²³ They now retorted amply on the Duranies. The mosques which had been rebuilt were demolished with every mark of indignity and washed with hog's blood. The Duranies were forced with their own hands to dig and restore the famous tank of *Ambar Sar*, which was soon brought to its ancient state and newly adorned with buildings. In short, the Siques were now absolute masters, and having fully established their religion and national councils, they began to extend themselves to the southward and westward amongst their neighbours, most of whom they brought under contribution. From that time till *Ahmed Shah Abdally's* death,²⁴ which happened about eight or nine years ago, the Siques had several times to encounter with his forces, but Ahmed Shah never had it in his power to spare so much time as was necessary to reduce them completely, and was soon forced to relinquish that object.

Since his death and the accession of Timur Shah, his son, the Siques have been but little molested from that quarter. They have even been emboldened to take from him the city of Multan, which they possessed some time; though they have been forced to relinquish it lately,²⁴ they have nevertheless retained the greatest part of that Subah, and *Timur Shah* seems either too indolent, or too much employed at home, to think of beginning a contest with them in earnest.

Such has been the rise and progress of the Siques to this day which must be attributed, not so much to their bravery, conduct or military knowledge, as to the anarchy and confusion that has desolated the empire, one may say, for these 60 or 70 years past, that is, ever since the death of the great Aurangzeb but more particularly from the weak government during the reigns of *Mahomed Shah, Ahmed Shah,*

23. Lahore was finally occupied by the Sikhs on April 16, 1765. Kabuli Mall was then the Governor of the province on behalf of Ahmad Shah and his nephew Amir Singh, in the absence of the Governor at Jammu, was compelled to surrender to the Sikhs.

24 Ahmad Shah Durrani died on Rajjab 20, 1186 A. H., October 16-17, 1772. And Timur Shah conquered Multan from the Sikhs in February 1780. These references also help determine the date of the composition of this paper in the year 1780 as mentioned in footnote 35.

and *Allumguir Sany*, the last of which may be cited as an example of the weakest and most wretched that ever was.

In their military capacity the Siques are far from being so formidable as they are generally represented, or as they might be. It is true they are in general exceedingly well mounted, that their horses and themselves will undergo much fatigues, and perform very expeditious marches and that they have excellent matchlocks which carry a good way and which they manage on horse back with tolerable execution; all that must be allowed them and also that they are very abstemious and satisfied with what no other horsemen in India perhaps would put up with; but when it is considered in what disorderly manner they fight, that they know not what it is to be in close order, or to charge sword in hand and that they never could yet be brought to face the Durrannies, though 3 or 4 to 1,²⁵ it must be acknowledged that at best they are but the *Croates* of India, and indeed they resemble them very much in more than one point.

As for the Government of the Siques, it is properly an aristocracy, in which no pre-eminence is allowed except that which power and force naturally gives, otherwise all the chiefs, great or small, and even the poorest and most abject Siques, look on themselves as perfectly equal in all the public concerns and in the greatest Council or *Goormotta*²⁶ of the nation, held annually either at *Ambarsar*, *Lahore*, or some other place. Everything is decided by the plurality of votes taken indifferently from all who choose to be present at it. In this Council or Diet all the public affairs are debated, such as alliances, wars and the excursions intended to be made in the ensuing year. The contributions collected in the last expeditions are also duly accounted for and distributed among the chiefs in proportion to their forces, who on their side must take care to satisfy their

25 Colonel Polier seems to have been misinformed about the military skill and prowess of the Sikhs. The inquisitive reader is referred to Qazi Nur Muhammad's *Jang Namah* wherein the author has devoted section XLI to the 'Bravery of the Sikhs'. The Qazi had come to India along with the army of anti-Sikh Baluch crusaders during the seventh Indian invasion (1764-65) of Ahmad Shah Durrani and was an eye-witness of all that he has recorded in the *Jang Namah*.

26 *Gur-mata* (*Gur-mata*) is, in fact, a resolution, a *mata*, passed in a council of the Sikhs in the presence of the *Guru* (*Granth Sahib*). It has at times been taken to mean a council (an assembly) of the Sikhs instead of a counsel.

dependants in their full proportion, who would, was it otherwise, soon quit them and address themselves to others. The chiefs are extremely numerous and some of them have at their command as far as 10,000 or 12,000 horses; however, the generality are very inferior; many have only 15 or 20 horses, and from that number up to 1,000 or 2,000. It is computed that their whole force, if joined together, would amount to nearly 200,000 horses, a power which would be truly formidable did it act under one chief or one order. But divided as it is amongst 400 or 500 chiefs who all look on themselves as independent of each other, whose interests and views are almost all different, and perpetually jarring, it is much weakened thereby. It is true, in case of an invasion or foreign attack, they are bound to support one another as much as lays in their power, however, the spirit of independence is such that it is not without difficulty they can be prevailed on to act in concert, even for the public good. For in the war against *Ahmed Shah Abdally* it was but seldom that a greater force than 60,000 men could be brought together to oppose him; though certainly the occasion called for their most strenuous exertions;

such times those only present themselves who have a great deal to lose. When out of their country, the Siques will indifferently fight for whoever pays them best, and their chiefs will engage some on each side of the question without the smallest hesitation or scruple. But when they are not retained in service, or are unemployed at home in disputes amongst themselves, they, particularly those on the borders, set off generally after the rains and make excursions in bodies of 10,000 horses or more on the neighbours. They plunder all they can lay their hands on, burn the towns and villages and do infinite mischief.²⁷ It is true they seldom kill in cold blood or make slaves;

27 During their incursions the Sikh Sardars attacked either the territories of the Mughal or of the Ruhilas. The object was to rob the Mughal rulers of their harmful political power and to so weaken them as to render them incapable of tyrannizing over their subjects, particularly the Sikhs themselves, who had suffered heavy persecution at their hands for about a hundred and fifty years beginning with the martyrdom of Guru Arjun in 1606, during the reign of Jehangir, to 1753 when Mughal Governor of Lahore, Mir Mannu, sent out moving columns to exterminate them wherever found.

The Ruhilas to the east of the River Jamuna were the chief Indian allies of the Afghan invaders who were responsible for so much of misery brought upon the people of the Panjab. Their harassment by the Sikhs, therefore, indirectly

[Continued on page 244.]

however, when they meet with handsome male children and robustly made, they carry them away and adopt them. The cattle is their principal aim; they carry them off in vast numbers and send them into their own country depriving by that means the wretched labourer and husbandman from the capacity of doing anything for himself afterwards. Thus they ruin and depopulate the finest provinces. To obviate those evils there is no other way except agreeing with one of their chiefs for a certain yearly tribute which they call *Racky*,²⁸ in general a trifle will satisfy them from two to five per cent on the revenues, particularly if at a distance; and provided this is regularly paid, it is said no further hindrance or molestation will be received from them. On the contrary the chief, to whom the tribute or *Racky* is paid, takes the district under his protection and is ready to fight against any of brethren who might think of disturbing it. This method has been adopted by most of the zemindars bordering on them, who at the same time not to trust implicitly to the good faith of those freebooters have taken care to fortify their towns and put themselves on a defensive footing; without that, whole provinces would be a desert. The Siques possess an immediate tract of country, the whole soubah of Lahore, the greatest part of that of Multan and part of that of Delhi, including all the country called *Panjab*. They also carry their excursions through every part of the last *Soubah*, and through part of that of Agra. Their own immediate possessions are exceedingly well cultivated, populous and rich; the revenues in general taken in kind throughout and not in money, which is very favourable to the tiller. In short few countries can vie with theirs, particularly in this part of India.

The Siques are in general strong and well made, accustomed from their infancy to the most laborious life and the hardest fare;

Continued from page 243.]

contributed to the weakness of Ahmad Shah Durrani by distracting and diverting the support in men and munitions that would otherwise flow into the Afghan army to be more harmful to this country.

If the Sikhs had not incessantly carried on their struggle against the Mughals and hampered the progress of Afghan domination in northern India, the Panjab could not have been freed from under their crushing yokes.

28 The word *Racky* or *Rakhi* literally means protection, and was correctly applied to the tribute received by the Sikhs for the protection from external aggression guaranteed by them to the people paying it.

they make marches and undergo fatigues that will appear really astonishing. In their excursions they carry no tents or baggage with them, except perhaps a small tent for the principal chief; the rest shelter themselves under a blanket which serves them also in the cold weather, to wrap themselves in and which in a march covers their saddles. They have mostly two horses apiece, and some three; their horses are middle sized, but exceedingly good, strong and high spirited, and mild tempered. The provinces of Lahore and Multan, noted for producing the best horses in Indostan, supply them amply and indeed they take the greatest care to increase their numbers by all means in their power; and though they make merry on the demise of one of their brethren,²⁹ they condole and lament the death of a horse, thus shewing their value for an animal so necessary to them in their excursions.

As for the food of the Siques, it is the coarsest, and such as the poorest people in Hindostan use from necessity. Bread baked in ashes, soaked afterwards in a mash made of different kinds of pulse, is their best dish, and such as they seldom indulge themselves with, except when at full leisure; otherwise vetches or grains hastily parched are all they care for. They abhor smoking of tobacco, for what reason I cannot find, but intoxicate themselves freely either with spirits or *bang*; a cup of the last they seldom fail taking at night after a fatigue. Their dress is extremely scanty, a pair of blue drawers, a kind of chequered plaid worn partly round the middle and partly over the shoulder with a mean blue turban forms all their equipage. Their chiefs are distinguished by having some heavy gold bracelets on their wrists and sometimes a chain of the same metal round their turbans and by being mounted on better horses, otherwise no distinction appears amongst them.

The sect of the Siques has a strong taint of the Gentoo³⁰ religion; they venerate the cow, and abstain piously from killing or feeding on

29 The Sikhs do not make merry on the occasion of the death of a Sikh but they accept it as the Will of God and recite hymns from their scripture, the *Guru Granth Sahib*, in resignation to it. 'Having been sent by him they come (into the world) and recalled by Him they go back,' says Guru Nanak. 'It is the right and privilege of the brave to die if they die in an approved cause,' says he.

30 Corrupt form of Hindu, derisively used. The Sikhs have no belief in gods and goddesses (*devtas* and *devis*), nor do they venerate the cow, as mentioned in the text.

it, and they also pay some respect to the *devtas* or idols. But their great object of worship is with them their own saints, or those whom they have honoured with the name of *Gorou*. Those they invoke continually, and they seem to look on them as everything. *Wah-Gorou* repeated several times is their only symbol, from which the Musulmen have (not without reason) taxed them with being downright atheists.³¹ Their mode of initiating their converts is by making them drink out of a pan in which the feet of those present have been washed,³² meaning by that, I presume, to abolish all those distinctions of caste which so much encumber the Gentoos; they also steep in it, particularly for a Musulman, the tusks or bones of a boar and add some of the blood of that animal to it. This with repeating the symbol to *Wah-Gorou*, wearing an iron bracelet on one arm and letting the hair of the head and beard grow, forms the whole mystery of their religion, if such a filthy beastly ceremony can be dignified with that name.³³ They have also stated [?] pilgrimages both to the Ganges³⁴ and their famous tank at *Ambarsar* where at fixed times they wash and perform some trifling ceremonies, invoking at the same time their *Gorou*.

Such are the Siques, the terror and plague of this part of India, a nation and power well calculated for doing mischief and encouraging

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- 31 In calling the Sikhs atheists, Polier is writing his impressions on second-hand information given to him by those who seem to have purposely misrepresented the Sikh religion to him. The fact that they repeat *Wahiguru* (*Wah-Gorou*), the name of God, is enough to prove them to be theists. The Sikhs are staunch believers in the existence and fatherhood of God who, according to them, is Self-existent, Omniscient and Omnipresent and is the Creator of the universe.
- 32 The ceremony of initiation is also misrepresented. In fact, it is clean water, mixed with sugar and stirred in a pure iron pan with a double-edged dagger, with hymns from Sikh scriptures recited over it, that is given to the initiates to drink as a part of the ceremony. This is called *Khande da Amrit* or nectar of the double-edged sword.
- 33 Nothing of this kind was done in the case of Muslims converted to Sikhism. To say that the tusk or bone of a boar was steeped in the consecrated water (*Khande da Amrit*) or that some blood of that animal was added to it particularly for Muslim converts to Sikh faith, is nothing but an imaginary fib of the informants of Col. Polier. It is not improbable that Polier himself had also his own prejudices against the Sikhs which have marred the objectivity of his study presented in this paper.
- 34 The Sikhs do not hold the Ganges or any other river as sacred, nor is it a place of pilgrimage for them.

rebellion in the zemindars or cultivators, who often follow their steps at first with a view of saving themselves and afterwards from the pleasure of independence, and indeed it is that which makes them so troublesome, for they begin to have connections in almost all the parts they visit on their excursions, and if they are not attacked soon in their own proper provinces, it is much to be feared their tenets and manners will be adopted by all the zemindars of the *soubah* of *Delhi*, and part of *Agra*. It is, however, imagined that so soon as Najhaf Khan is clear of the Matchery Rajah,³⁵ he means to turn all his forces towards the Siques, and at least to drive them from this side of Sirhind, which he may I think easily do, though perhaps it would not be safe for him to go farther, except Timur Shah should on his side attack them also across the *Attek*, then indeed and by remaining a few years in the centre of their country they might be effectually reduced. The Siques make no account of infantry except for the defence of their forts, and have no artillery; their rapid motions will not allow of their having any with them, though they are not ignorant of the effect of it, when well served, which they take care to avoid as much as possible. I have nothing more to add to this account except a pretended prophecy, which the Siques say has been delivered down by some of their *Gorou*, that the Siques after remaining sometime the terror of India would at last be finally destroyed by white men coming from the westward. Who are to be those white men, time must discover, but the Siques themselves think the Europeans will fulfil the prophecy,³⁶ and are meant by it.

35 This reference to the campaign of Mirza Najjaf Khan, the Mughal *Mir Bakhshi*, then going on against Rao Raja Partap Singh of Macheri, read along with footnote No. 24, determines the date of the writing of this paper as 1780 A.D.

36 A prophecy of this type in a slightly different form, predicting the coming of Europeans, is ascribed to Guru Tegh Bahadur, who is said to have told Emperor Aurangzeb in 1675 in answer to the charge of looking in the direction of Imperial *zanana*: 'I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy *pardas* and destroy thine empire.' (Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, Preface, XVII).

In the prophecy mentioned by Polier in 1780 in the text above, the object of destruction has been changed from the Mughal empire to the power of Sikhs. The change has evidently been made by some well-wisher of the decaying Mughal empire and an enemy of the rising power of the Sikhs.

[Continued on page 248.]

II

THE SIKHS

Extract from a letter from Major Polier at Delhi to Colonel Ironside at Belgram. May 22, 1776

The king's dominions are bounded on the north, NW and WNW by the Siques: to the NE and within the Doab Zabita Chan possesses a large tract of country which heretofore belonged to the king, but is now, by the late treaty, finally made over to him.

As for the Seikhs, that formidable aristocratic republick, I may safely say, it is only so to a weak defenceless state, such as this is. It is properly the snake with many heads. Each zemindar who from the Attock¹ to Hansey Issar,² and to the gates of Delhi, lets his beard grow, cries *Wah gorow*,³ eats pork,⁴ wears an iron bracelet, drinks bang, abominates the smoking of tobacco and can command from ten followers on horseback to upwards, sets up immediately for a Seik Sirdar, and as far as in his power aggrandizes himself at the expense of his weaker neighbours; if Hindu or Mussulman so much the better; if not, even amongst his own fraternity will he seek to extend his influence and power; only with this difference, in their intestine divisions, from what is seen everywhere else, that the husbandman and labourer, in their own districts, are perfectly safe and unmolested, let what will happen round about them.

Continued from page 247]

The prophecy recorded by Macauliffe was ascribed by some people to the fertile imagination of some clever Englishman during the mutiny of 1857 to win the sympathy and support of the Sikhs against the protagonists of Mughal rule in India. But the reference to the prophecy in this paper written seventy-seven years before the mutiny is rather intriguing. It, however, explodes the above theory.

- 1 Attock or Atak is the local name of the river Indus (Sindh) in the north-western frontier province of Pakistan. There is also a town with a fort of the same name on the eastern bank of the river at a point where the Grand Trunk Road crosses it.
- 2 Hansi, Hissar.
- 3 *Wah-Gorow*, or *Wahiguru*, a name of God, meaning the Wonderful Lord.
- 4 Eating of pork or any other kind of meat is not particularly encouraged amongst the Sikhs, much less considered an essential part of the Sikh diet. The use of *bhang* prevalent amongst the majority of *Nihang* Sikhs is positively looked down upon as undesirable.

From this small sketch it may be easily conceived that the Seiks are much less formidable than they are represented. It is true that they join together when invaded as was the case when Abdallah⁵ passed through their country. But notwithstanding they had assembled an immense body of cavalry, extremely well mounted, yet they never presumed to make a single charge on the Durrany army, or even on detachments; and considering their irregularity and want of discipline and subordination, it was well for them, I think, they did not. They satisfied themselves in making a kind of hussar⁶ war of it, cutting off stragglers and intercepting provisions. In this they excel. To say the truth, they are indefatigable, mounted on the best horses that India can afford, each carries a matchlock of a large bore, which they handle dexterously enough, and with which they annoy considerably, avoiding, at the same time, going in large bodies or approaching too near. Such is their way of making war, which can only appear dangerous to the wretched Hindustani troops of these quarters, who tremble as much at the name of a Seik, as people used to do, not long ago, at the mention of Mahrattas. But what is more to be admired is that those Seik Sirdars, whose territories border on the King's were but very lately of the Jauts and of their caste and tribe, under which domination had they remained, no one would have thought of them; but now that they have put on their iron bracelet, fifty of them are enough to keep at bay a whole battalion of the King's forces, such as they are. This shows the force of prejudice and the value of military reputation. Such are the immediate neighbours of the King.

Five hundred of Nujhaf Khan's horse dare not encounter fifty Seik horsemen; and yet the last are as despicable a set of creatures as any that can be imagined! On the whole, was it not for Sombre's party, and Letafet's forces, Nujhaf Khan would not be able to stand his ground half an hour; and yet this is The Mighty Chief!

III

A CHARACTER OF THE SIEKS

(From the observations of Colonel Polier and Mr. George Forster)

The Sieks are in general strong and well made; accustomed from their infancy to the most laborious life and hardest fare, they make marches and undergo fatigue that really appear astonishing. In their

5 Ahmad Shah Abdali or Durrani.

6 Light cavalry.

excursions they carry no tents or luggage, except perhaps a small tent for the principal officer; the rest shelter themselves under blankets which serve them also in cold weather to wrap themselves in, and which, on a march, cover their saddles. They have commonly two, some of them three, horses each, of the middle size, strong, active and mild tempered. The provinces of Lahore and Moulton, noted for a breed of the best horses in Hindustan afford them an ample supply; and indeed they take great care to increase it by all means in their power. Though they make merry on the demise of any of their brethren,¹ they mourn for the death of a horse, thus showing their love of an animal so necessary to them in their professional capacity. The food of the Sieks is of the coarsest kind, and such as the poorest people in Hindustan use from necessity. Bread baked in ashes, and soaked in a mash made of different sorts of pulse, is the best dish, and such as they never indulge in but when at full leisure; otherwise vetches and tares, hastily parched, is all they care for. They abhor smoking tobacco, for what reasons I cannot discover, but intoxicate themselves freely with spirits of their own country manufacture: a cup of the last they never fail taking after a fatigue at night. Their dress is extremely scanty; a pair of long blue drawers², and a kind of chequered plaid, a part of which is fastened round the waist, and the other thrown over the shoulder, with a mean turban, form their clothing and equipage. The chiefs are distinguished by wearing some heavy gold bracelets³ on their wrists and sometimes a chain of the same metal bound round their turbans, and by being mounted on better horses; otherwise no distinction appears amongst them. The chiefs are numerous, some of whom have the command of ten or twelve thousand cavalry; but this power is confined to a small number, the inferior officers maintaining from one to two thousand, and many not more than twenty or thirty horses, a certain quota of which is furnished by the chiefs, the greater part being the individual property of the horseman.

From the spirit of independence so invariably infused amongst them, their mutual jealousy, and rapacious roving temper, the Sieks at this day are seldom seen co-operating in national concert: but actuated

1 See footnote 29 under I, p. 245.

2 Called *Kachha* or *Kachhehra* (कच्छहिरा).

3 Called *Kara* (करा) worn on festive occasions in many parts of the Panjab up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

by the influence of an individual ambition or private distrust, they pursue such plans only as coincide with these motives. An example of their forces being engaged in opposite interests has been noticed in the case of Maha Singh, who succoured the Rajah of Jumbo against the Siek party who had invaded his country. Before the chiefs of the mountaineer's country at the head of the Punjab were reduced to a tributary state, severe depredations were committed on them by the Sieks who plundered and destroyed their habitations, carried off the cattle, and, if strong and well formed, the male children, who were made converts to the faith of Nanock. But since the payment of a fixed tribute has been stipulated, which does not amount to more than five per cent of the revenue, the mountaineers are little molested, except when the Sieks have been called upon to adjust their domestic quarrels.

The extensive and fertile territories of the Sieks, and their attachment and application, in the midst of warfare, to the occupations of agriculture, must evidently produce a large revenue. The district dependent on Lahore, in the reign of Aurangzeb, produced, according to Mr. Bernier, a revenue of two hundred forty-six lacks and ninety-five thousand rupees; and we are naturally led to suppose, from the industrious skill of the Sieks in the various branches of cultivation, that no great decrease of that amount can have taken place since the Punjab has fallen into their possession.

An extensive and valuable commerce is also maintained in their country, which has been extended to distant quarters of India, particularly to the provinces of Bengal and Behar, where many Siek merchants of opulence at this time reside. The Omichand, who took so active, though unfortunate, a share in the revolution which the English effected in Bengal, was a Siek, as is his adopted son, who is now an inhabitant of Calcutta. Merchants of every nation or sect, who may introduce a traffic into their territories, or are established under their government, experience a full protection and enjoy commercial privileges in common with their own subjects. All the same, it must be noticed that such immunities are granted only to those who remain amongst them or import wares for the immediate supply of the Siek markets. But the foreign traders, even travellers, who attempt to pass through the Panjab, are often plundered and usually ill-

treated;⁴ in the event of no molestations being offered to people of this description, the escape is ever spoken of with a degree of joyful surprise, and a thanksgiving is offered to Providence for the singular escape. This conduct, inimical to the progress of civilization and an impediment to the influx of wealth, proceeds from an extreme jealousy of strangers, added to a rapacity of temper, which make them averse to the encouragement of any scheme in whose success they do not immediately participate.

The Sieks are not rigorous in their stipulation with the Mohammedan proselytes, who if they abstain from beef's flesh (which is held in equal abhorrence by the Sieks as by the Hindus), and perform the more ostensible duties, as burning their dead, and preserving the hair of the head, an indulgent latitude is granted in all other articles of the creed of Nanock.⁵ The Mohammedans who reside in the Panjab are subject to occasional oppression, and often to the insults of the lower classes of the people, amongst whom it is an uncommon practice to defile the places of worship by throwing in the carcases of hogs and other things held impure by the Mussulman law. The Mohammedans are also prohibited from announcing their stated time of prayer, which conformably to their usage, is proclaimed in a loud tone of voice. A Siek, who in the chase shall have slain a wild hog, is frequently known to compel the first Mohammedan to meet to carry to his home the body of the animal; and, on being initiated into the rites of their religion, the Sieks will sometimes require Mohammedan convert to bind on his arm the tusk of a bore,⁶ that by this act of national impurity he may more avowedly testify a renunciation and

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- 4 Grant of full protection and commerical privileges to merchants of every nation or sect as mentioned in the text above is not reconcilable with the alleged plunder and ill-treatment of foreign traders passing through the Panjab. The plunder of foreign traders by some lawless marauders in a few rare cases in those unsettled days is not improbable, but that could not be generalized.
 - 5 Rules of Sikh conduct, called the *rahit* (रहित), in their terminology, are the same for all Sikhs and are applicable to all converts whether from amongst the Hindus or Mohammedans.
 - 6 The suppression or ill-treatment of Muslims seems to have been very much exaggerated and may be taken as based on wrongful informatin given to him by his prejudiced informants. Colónel Polier himself also seems to have been considerably influenced by the anti-Sikh propaganda of the then interested parties.

contempt of his former faith. The facts sufficiently mark the haughty and insulting demeanour, which, with few deviations, forms a prominent feature in the character of the military Sieks: but we may also ascribe a certain portion of their severe and contumelious treatment of Mohammedans to a remembrance of recent injuries.

The discordant interests which agitate the Siek nation, and the constitutional genius of the people, must incapacitate them, during the existence of these causes, from becoming a formidable defensive power; nor are they invested with that species of executive strength which is necessary to advance and establish a distant conquest. In the defence and recovery of their country the Sieks displayed a courage of the most obstinate kind, and manifested a perseverance, under the pressure of calamities, which bear an ample testimony of native resource, when the common danger had roused them to action, and gave but one impulse to their spirit. Should any future cause call forth the combined efforts of the Sieks to maintain the existence of empire and religion, we may see some ambitious chief, led on by his genius and success, and, absorbing the power of his associates, display from the ruins of their commonwealth the standard of monarchy. The page of history is filled with the like effects, springing from like causes. Under such a form of Government, I have little hesitation in saying that the Sieks would be soon advanced to the first rank amongst the native princes of Hindustan and would become a terror of the surrounding states.⁷

⁷ This prophecy of George Forster came to be fulfilled in the person of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) who created a monarchy, benevolent and republican in its character, out of the various Sikh Misals and Muslim States of the Panjab towards the end of the eighteenth century. (Cf. George Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, i. 295.)

Memoranda on the N.W. Frontier of British India

and on the importance of the River Indus as connected with
its defence

CAPT. J. BONAMY

INTRODUCTORY

The materials and papers relating to the countries between our possessions and the Indus as well as all information relative to that River which Sir John Malcolm had in his possession were made over to Captain Bonamy who greatly aided as he has been by the recent survey of the Frontier of India from Mandavie, to Jessulmire by Lieutt. Burns and Holland, and by full personal communication with the former officer has drawn out what the Governor terms in his minute a comprehensive but condensed Memoir, which is added to the remarks of Sir John Malcolm as these papers combined exhibit obstacles that a European Army invading India would have to encounter before it reached the British territories in that quarter of the world.

MEMORANDA on the N.W. Frontier of British India and on the importance of the river Indus as connected with its defence as drawn up by desire of Sir J. Malcolm, and derived from the authorities quoted below :

Authorities

H. C. Burns's *Mission to India*;

Hankey Smith's Esqr, *Mission to India*

Pottinger's *Baloochistan*;

Captn. Christie's *Journal thro. Baloochistan*;

Elphinstone's *Cabul*;

Lt. Burns's *Memo. on the N. W. Frontier, Runn of Cutch, Marawar and Jeysekmere, on the Eastern Branch of the Indus*;

Sir J. Malcolm, Mss. Papers;

Sir J. Macdonald, Mss. Papers;

Mss. upon Sinde, by

Messrs Crow, Ellis, Seton, Elphinstone, Williams.

Mss. of

Lt McMurdo, MaCartney, Captn. Hamilton, Col. Pottinger.

The present N. W. Frontier of British India is formed by the Eastern branch of the river Indus and the Runn of Cutch situated to the Eastern extremity of which is the small village of Soreegaum from whence a supposed boundary runs in a Northerly direction 18 miles to the village of Wow (and advanced post 40 miles west of the cantonments of Deesa), and thence 50 mile N.W. to the celebrated hill of Aboo. The frontier of the Bengal Presidency here commences and running North East extends to the Himalaya mountains. The most advanced post to the Westward is Loodianah on the Sutlege, 160 miles N. by W. of Delhi.

CAUBUL¹

The Kingdom of Caubul comprehends all that vast tract of country to the Southward of the Hindoo Kosh, and to the Westward of the Indus, having a vague boundary in Baloochistan to the South and Russia to the West.

Its population to the amount of 14 millions, includes Baloochis, Tartars, and Persians—but principally the various tribes of Affghans, of whose history, manners and customs a minute and interesting memoir is given by Mr. Elphinstone.

Scorning the restraints of an organized Government the Affghans present the picture of a free, brave and generous people, associating in tribes under the control of their respective Chieftains, who pay (for mutual convenience) a tacit obedience to one prince whose power is unequal to coerce the refractory clans, or to effect a simultaneous feeling in the national welfare.

General description of Country as relates to the passage of Troops
(Mr. Elphinstone, Sir J. McDonald, Mr. Macartney)

The populous and flourishing towns of Peshawur, Caubul, Ghiznee, Candahar and Herat, are within its limits, and on the resources these furnish must the Army greatly depend, that invade Hindoostan.

¹ The sections, previous to this, dealing with other parts of the Frontier such as Runn of Cutch, Matwar, Jeyselmer, &c., have not been included here.

Troops marching thro' Affghanistan, if the inhabitants are conciliated need not suffer privation in provisions, water or carriage, but the country presents the greatest natural difficulties for an organised army to surmount, encumbered with all the necessary equipments of the present day, than can be conceived in the worst description of mountain roads passing thro' close and strong defiles, beds of torrents and high craggy passes.

The neutrality of the daring and predatory inhabitants of these regions, Nadir Shah on his invasions of India, did not disdain to purchase by a donation of 10 lacs of Rupees.

Route by—

An Army advancing from the Northward on Caubul must either cross the mountainous chain of the Hindoo Kosh or skirting it to the West-ward march to Herat.

The name literally means 'Kill-Hindoo' and the range of mountains, tradition says, is named from an Indian Army having perished in its defiles. Its passage is only attempted by caravans (proceeding from Bulkh to Caubul) during the dry months, at other seasons not only is the route impassable from torrents, but avalanches are of frequent occurrence, and of a terrific description. Troops attempting to traverse the mountains, must be prepared to endure every species of privation, and for the purpose of dragging their guns along water courses and over precipitous passes for upwards perhaps of 100 miles ere they reach the table-land of Caubul.

By Herat.

2nd. From Herat to Caubul appears by the direct route, to be, at least 450 miles, it lies through the bold and rugged territories of the marauding tribes of Huzareh, many of the passes through which are defended by forts, so impregnable that access is only to be gained to them by means of ropes. From Herat to Caubul by Candahar, must be nearly 600 miles; the road though hilly is practicable for guns, and with the goodwill of the inhabitants, supplies are obtainable.

At Kandahar the road before mentioned on Sinde is open.

From Caubul to the Indus.

From Caubul to the Indus is about 200 miles, the first 150 lies through a sterile mountainous country to the town of Peshawur. The Khyber Pass through which the road runs is not less than 25 miles in

length, presenting every species of natural difficulty, and the haunt of the daring plundering tribe of Khyberree.

Peshawur is a most flourishing and populous place, situated in a fertile and well cultivated plain, watered by three branches of the Caubul river. Thence, upon the Indus, there are two roads, 1st to Attock 50 miles, 2nd to the South through the Moultan. This latter runs over the salt range and thro' the large and rugged defile of the Largeeval, all presenting the usual difficulties of mountain roads, thence down to the West bank of the Indus, crossing it at Kaharee to Moultan, where the roads into Sinde or across the desert to Bikaner are open. The road to Attock is very practicable but favourable for defensive operations as it runs through a large pass formed by the Caubul river on the North and a ridge of mountains to the Southward, over which the road crosses to Attock.

Attock

Attock is going fast to decay but the country about it is well cultivated and affords supplies. It has a strong citadel but is commanded by the neighbouring heights. From Attock crossing the Indus to the banks of the Jelum (Hydaspes) is about 130, miles, through a most difficult and rugged country; it is uncultivated and is frequently intersected with deep ravines and water courses which are so numerous and in the rains become such torrents, that the line of march intercepted and baggage and carriages swept away. Crossing the Jelum at Jellapoor, the road to Delhi lies through the rich plains of the Punjab.

This tract of country eastward of the Indus is inhabited by the Seiks, a daring and warlike people whose present Sovereign is the celebrated Runjeet Singh.

ON THE INVASION OF INDIA

It is the recorded opinion of Lord Hastings and Sir J. Malcolm, the ablest judges of the present day, that it is on the line of the Indus that India is open to invasion, and the more the relative situation of this magnificent country is considered, the more apparent will the justness of the observation become. So long as the British maintains its pre-eminence on the ocean, it is to be presumed that the coasts of this vast peninsula are not only secure from invasion, but protected from insult.

From the N. E.

On our N. E. frontier we have at least at present no enemy to

fear, and our Northern boundary is formed by the vast and impassable chain of Himala mountains.

From Cashmere

On the side of Cashmere invasion seems impossible. Not only are its Southern passes (alluded to already, as described by Bernier) to be struggled with, but on the side of the Caspian through Caffristan a succession of snow capped mountains, presents an impracticable barrier to any thing beyond the passage of a small caravan. Thus from Caubul to the southern provinces of Persia, must the army destined for the invasion of India, proceed. In the latter instance the resources of Persia, must be previously at its command; or if the advance is made from Caubul, there are also previous difficulties to be surmounted, which in the opinion of the authorities before referred to, will take years to accomplish; for not only must the nomade people on the Caspian and the Oxus be coerced, but such measures taken as must secure the advancing army from the inevitable destruction attendant on insurrections in the rear.

It is indeed, the recorded opinion of Lord Hastings that, if the efficiency of the British rule in India does not degenerate, it appears to be more from insurrections in our own rear (when our army is advanced to the Frontier to repel invasion) that we have to dread, than from the invasion itself.

From opponents under the necessity of carrying into effect such preparative operations, a sudden or unexpected invasion of India can never take place. Armies can never be secretly assembled at Caubul or Kirman and at whichever of the two the rendezvous takes place, will be sufficient intimation whether Sinde or the Punjab is the point destined to be operated upon.

In either case, in proportion to his advance, the further will the enemy leave his resources, and his water transport, while the British armies on the banks of the rivers of the Punjab, or the Indus, can await his advance in the midst of abundant supplies. Not that it is meant that no other difficulties, than those of nature should be opposed to the invading troops. Our immediate opposition could not indeed from the distance from our line of defence, extend into Baloochistan or Caubul, but our utmost endeavours would be exerted to raise against them most formidable opponents in the inhabitants of

the country through which they were passing; an opposition the more readily excited by the natural jealousy of the ultimate intentions of an armed force marching through their territories.

But when the enemy's columns arrive at the passes of the Sooliman mountains, or in the country of the Seiks on the east bank of the Indus, then ought our opposition take a more decided character.

Every exertion must be made to harrass and dispute his advance, not by regular troops, for discipline tells not in mountain warfare (besides which it would be detaching them too far and thus weakening the efficiency of the main army, upon whose energy and strength our ultimate success must depend) but by native partizans whose activity and daring should be excited and rewarded by the greatest liberality.

If a few European officers, masters of the language, and of the peculiar tact the nature of the service requires could be procured to direct their operations and watch their fidelity, their services would be invaluable.

The defence of such passes against an invading army, as it has been shewn, it will have to traverse, is of vital importance, and the injury inflicted may be such as to render impracticable a further advance, or at all events, greatly retard it, and when at length these difficulties were surmounted, the invader harrassed and dispirited would have to contend with fresh and vigorous opponents in the midst of abundant supplies, their rear would be still harrassed and their communications interrupted by our partizans.

Under such accumulated disadvantages on the part of its opponents, if the British army in the Punjab were defeated on the Hydaspes it would still have the succcessive rivers of that country to retire on, and lastly the Ganges; thus always reaping the advantages of their navigation; whereas in this respect, until the enemy possessed that of the Indus, his situation would be in no way improved.

The army in Sinde likewise, if obliged to retire from the line of the Indus across the desert into Gujerat, cannot be pursued any more than the army of the north, so long as the enemy's rear be threatened and his communications cut off by our being masters of the navigation of that river.

Effects of the Retreat

Should ever this crisis arrive, we must expect the retreat of either army to be attended with the most disastrous consequence.

To the invaders destitute of supplies with such a country as has been described to traverse, and incessantly harrassed by its inhabitants, whose natural enmity would *now* be excited to the most cruel persecution, by the impunity which would attend it, by the prospect of plunder and the hope of reward from the conquerors it would be utter annihilation.

To the British should such a misfortune occur, and insurrection in their rear consequently take place, the consequences are awful to contemplate. Still with a fruitful country to retire through (the masters of the navigation) to their rear at least of the Ganges, the Indus and the sea, their destiny would not be fraught with such painful result.

Comparison with former invasions

It has been remarked that the difficulties attendant on the invasion of India must be over estimated, because that country has been successfully invaded.

The invasions alluded to after all were not conquests. They were little else than successful plundering irruptions of the hords of light troops, unattended with the necessary encumbrance of an organised army. Their inroads succeeded because the armies of their opponents were no better provided in artificial means, and in natural character were perhaps inferior. But the invaders of British India, will find British intelligence and courage in an army well organised and found with every equipment of modern warfare; successfully to contend with whom, they must arrive *at least* similarly provided, and it is the conveyance of the equipment that constitutes the greater part of the difficulties represented.

Objects to be attained

Under existing circumstances, there appear to be two objects of primary importance, to which the attention of Government might be advantageously directed.

1st. The establishment of influence founded on a friendly basis in the Courts of Persia, Caubul and with the Seik. The two former the points *d'appui* from whence invasion must proceed; the latter a very important auxiliary in either party's hands. Such an influence could it be maintained, paramount to that of our enemy's, must render nugatory any hostile intention on British India; for ere our Frontier could be approached, these countries would have to be invaded, and

conquered and supported as they then would be by British aid, a defence would be opposed, not easily overthrown.

2nd. The obtaining possession of authentic surveys or memoirs of the lines of country through which it is deemed practicable for troops to proceed, the procurability of water, the quantity and description of supplies and carriages, the nature of the roads, of the mountain passes, and the disposition of the inhabitants, whether friendly or otherwise, to be particularly reported upon.

The journals and reports of travellers may give good general ideas of a country but when movements of troops are to be directed, and the attack or defence of a country come under consideration, much more specific documents are requisite.

The intelligence and knowledge of the country and its inhabitants that might be acquired by the employment of a few intelligent native surveyors, whose zeal and good faith might be secured by liberal remuneration, would be of inestimable value. They should be men of that respectability that in case of need, they might become the medium of political and commercial intercourse with the tribes of the countries in which they are employed.

That men of this description are to be met with, we have ample proof in the testimonies of Major Reynel, Col. Todd and Lieutt. Burnes, and to them, the two former officers were largely indebted for assistance in their extensive and valuable operations. Twenty men of this description employed under the direction of one or two officers possessing zeal and talent would probably in the course of a couple of years afford Government most complete and authentic statistical and topographical information of all the countries between the North West Frontier and Russia.

THE RIVER INDUS

This river, the most important feature of our frontier line, rises in the mountains of Himala and Chinese Turkistan between the 38th and 39th degrees of North latitude.

The farthest point to which positive information as to its course extends is Draus in latitude 35°-50° eight days march N. E. of Cashmere, when it runs its superb course into the sea of 1350 miles.

Its course to Kallabaugh, Latitude 33°-10

South of Draus, the Indus enters the passes of the Himala flowing

S. W. between high mountains to Jorbela 40 miles E.N.E. of Attock; here it enters the valley of Chuch and spreading itself in its course forms innumerable islands. At Attock the stream is deep and rapid, but does not exceed 260 yards in breadth. The boats of the country cross it with the utmost facility, and, as in the days of Alexander, people are seen floating down the river on inflated ox-hides.

At Attock it again enters the mountains and runs through thin passes for 60 miles to the romantically situated town of Kallabaugh, to the southward of the great Salt Range. It here runs through a rocky channel of the mountains 350 yards only in breadth in a very deep and rapid stream, and enters the rich valley of the Essa Khel forming four branches; it is not again interrupted in its course by the mountains.

From Kallabaugh to Kittiree Ghaut 120 miles

Leaving Kallabaugh the Indus in a great degree changes its character; its bed from a fine granite becomes sand with a portion of clay much resembling that of the Ganges, and it flows to the southward in a clear, deep, and tranquil stream, forming in its course many channels which meet and separate again, seldom uniting in one stream. Its banks are very low. The soil of the islands formed by it and of the country on either side of its banks, subjects to its inundations or otherwise is covered with a high grass or Jhow jungle.

Inhabitants of its banks

The inhabitants of its banks through the above mountain course are the Khyber and other tribes of marauding Affghans; at *Kaheeree* Ghat the Indus is 1,000 yards in breadth forming several smaller parallel streams. In the dry season its depth at Kaheeree may not exceed 12 yards, but at the period of its inundation, all these streams become united, forming a sheet of water many koss in breadth.

Its inundation

The Indus commences to rise towards the end of April. The waters at their height in August, and begin to subside early in September.

The boats used for its passage at Kaheeree are flat bottomed and from 30 to 40 tons burthen.

Country and Inhabitants.

About Kaheeree the banks of the Indus are finely cultivated; beyond

them to the westward are plains extending to the Sooliman ridge, inhabited by wandering tribes of Affghan shepherds, to the eastward they verge on the desert.

Junction with the Punjnu

By the junction of the Indus and Punjnu all the waters of the Punjab flow into the Indus. For nearly 100 miles northward of their union, the two rivers run parallel, frequently not more than 10 miles asunder. In the rains the tract of intermediate country is one vast sheet of waters.

About this part of its course, the banks of the Indus are also well cultivated, beyond them to the eastward extends the Great Desert and the westward various tribes of wandering Affghans.

Its course to Sehwan Latitude 26°.10.

Here this river may be said to enter Sindh flowing through its territories S. S. W. 200 miles to Sehwan, passing the towns of Suker, Rohrie, and Bhuker, 17 miles south of the latter a branch flows to the westward forming and fertilising the island of Chandookee, the most fruitful in the Province of Sindh. This branch reunites with its main stream 50 miles South at Sehwan to the northward of which it receives a small stream from the eastward, navigable to small craft in the wet season, called the Khyrpoor.

By Sehwan the ramifications of this river form another very fertile island, and branches tending to the general fertilization of the country go off in either side to the distance of 30 or 40 miles.

Thirty miles south of Sehwan a very considerable stream of 400 yards in breadth branches off to the westward called the Fulelee, which by its reunion with the river 30 miles further down forms the island on which stands Hydrabad. From the eastern-most angle of the Fulelee the Gonee or Phuram river runs off.

From Hydrabad the Indus flows by Tattah (35 miles) at which place its breadth is about 2,000 yards; thence to its junction with the ocean is 79 miles; 20 miles to the northward however it throws off several minor branches which fall into the sea by separate embouchures; their beds are overgrown with jungle, and their streams overflowing their banks from large fens or swamps, through which the water escapes to the sea in a number of small channels. These currents acting upon the shifting sands at their mouths form *back-waters*, which

communicate from one branch to the other across the whole Delta of the Indus. By these back-waters small boats can go from Jucknow on the coast of Kutch, to Kurrachee, a similar back-water is formed in the Sunderbunds of Bengal.

The main branch of the Indus At Lahora Bunder, 30 miles south of Tattah, is 4 miles in breadth and at its embouchure 12 miles. Its current varies with the seasons. At the period of its greatest flow, it does not exceed 4 miles an hour and varies from that to $2\frac{1}{2}$.

Country south of Hyderabad

The country through which it runs south of Hyderabad is uncultivated and jungly, becoming below Tattah a perfect desert. The bed through this part of its course is foul and muddy, full of shoals and shifting sands.

From the time of this river issuing from the mountains, the rapidity of its current together with the loose nature of the soil through which it runs, occasions its banks to be continually undermining and thus altering its course; such is the quantity of water disembogued by the Indus, that at some distance from its embouchure it occasions a rippling, and discoloured appearance in the sea, resembling the flow of shallow water over a sand bank.

In a river of this character we cannot look for fords. In 1809, however Shah Shujah's army forded it about the junction of the Caubul rivers. This occurrence is considered in the country an extraordinary one, and only accountable from the unusual dryness of the season. The Indus of itself must consequently form a very great obstacle to the advance of an army by the opponent being master of its transport.

The Phurran or Eastern bank of the Indus

The Phurran has already been mentioned as flowing out of the Fulelee, whence it runs through a desert tract of country to the south eastward, passing through the western extremity of the Runn of Cutch to Luckput Bunder, and enters the ocean at Kotasir, the western point of Cutch.

Up to Luckput it is navigable to boats of one to two hundred tons, and would be navigable to small craft to Hyderabad, but the course of its water has been diverted for the purposes of irrigation.

Towards its embouchure the stream is known by the name of

Koree, that of Lonee by which it is designated in the maps, is quite unknown to the natives of the country.

On the Navigation of the Indus

From whatever sources, information is gained relative to the Indus, it will be found they all agree as to the practibility of its navigation. Arrians is a voucher for it. In the time of Alexander the fleet of Nearchus followed its course to the sea. The fleet was built opposite Taxila, 8 days sail above the junction of the Ascenes and the Hydaspes, and consisted of a mighty number of ships—amongst them two of thirty oars each.

At the junction of these rivers the fleet was much damaged by violent currents and eddies, though the country boats however of a round form were the least injured. Thence the fleet appears to have met no obstacles in its navigation to Patula (Tattah). Here Alexander explored and entered the ocean by both the right and left branches of the Indus, returning by them to Tattah ! The only danger he seems to have encountered was from the swell of the sea blown up the river by a strong southerly wind—the only phenomenon was that of the tides.

The passage of boats from Tattah to Hydrabad is at present an every day occurrence—and thence up the Punjnu and the rivers of the Punjaub, there appears an equally undoubted though not so frequented a communication.

A voyage to Lahore occupies six or seven weeks but returning (with the stream) not above 18 days.

The boats in the present day used for this navigation are much the same as those mentioned by Captain Hamilton in 1700. They are from 100 to 300 tons burthen, with a square sail and flat bottomed; this construction is probably to enable them by drawing very little water to keep close along shore, and thus in part avoid the rapidity of the current.

It seems very probable that the violence with which the main branch of the Indus issues out from its mountain channels may prevent its being navigable much above the junction of the Punjnu.

Notwithstanding the general argument as to the possibility of navigating the Indus and the rivers of the Punjab, it seems equally certain it has been little resorted to, whether it is that between the

Punjab and Sindh, political or other causes may occasion little intercourse—that the marauding tribes on its banks may render the passage unsafe—or that the working up the river is too long and laborious an operation, for which the rapidity of its descent does not compensate.

The application of steam would obviate this latter objection; there is plenty of wood on the river banks. Alexander's fleet was built from the large woods, on the banks of the Hydraspes.

There exists another (at present unexplained) difficulty with regard to the navigation of the Indus. It seems to have ever been the custom to land merchandize at Kurrachee, and convey it thence to Tattah by land, and there embark it on the river for further transport. Why vessels should not come up the main branch of the Indus, at all events as far as Labora Bunder, seems unaccountable, unless there is a bar at the entrance, which although captain Hamilton mentioned as being the case, good native authority declares it to be navigable thus far to a line of Battle ship: and what would seem to countenance the later assertion is that the stream of the vast body of water disembogued would prevent the accumulation of mud and sand at its mouth and sweep away any obstacles except rocks.

The practice of conveying merchandize by land is a proof of the abundance of camels and the cheapness of their hire at Kurrachee as the small branch of the Indus running from Dharajay Bunder to the sea a little to the eastward of Kurrachee is navigable, for the baggage of the Sind mission in 1808 was conveyed by it to Tattah.

A correct knowledge of this noble river is perhaps the greatest desideratum connected with the N. W. Frontier and to its survey should attention be most particularly paid.

That the British Government should command the navigation of the Indus is most earnestly to be desired not only with a view to defence against invasion but as a means of general communication with the N. W. Provinces.

With the Punjab, Caubul and Cashmere, it might also offer the opportunity of carrying on an advantageous intercourse and of diverting a portion of the trade now apparently tending towards the Caspian, into British India.

(Signed) J. Bonamy,
Captn. H. M. 6th Regt. of Foot,
and A.D.C.

Dhaporee, September, 1830

An Unpublished Diary of Sikh Times

SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR*

This paper is nothing more than a brief introduction to a voluminous manuscript Diary which I have had the privilege of glancing through.

As I dipped into its pages I was deeply interested to read the comments of its scholarly author on the men and things of his time. I felt that this find would be full of interest to the members of the Panjab Historical Society. It is a source of extreme gratification to me to be able to place the original manuscript before this learned Society and to point out what a remarkable record we possess in it. The Diary is in 20 volumes and covers a period upwards of forty years, from about A. D. 1819 to A. D. 1860. The dates used in the Diary are those of the Hindi Sambat and the Muhammadan era.

The Diary was commenced in the year A. H. 1236, and continued up to A. H. 1277, and is a monument of patience and industry and shows an amount of regularity and application on the part of its writer which is not only rare in these days of hurry and bustle but was by no means common even in olden times. It does not profess to be a chronicle of public events but is purely a private journal, kept by the writer as a favourite literary occupation and mainly for the enlightenment of his progeny. This fact makes the regular expenditure of so much talent and energy upon it all the more noteworthy. The entries relate mostly to personal and family matters, and mention incidentally the important events of the day, and occasionally what people thought and said about them at the time. The journal is written in Persian and the writer seems to have had an easy command of the language. His style is simple and natural, and the remarks and reflections interspersed throughout the volume give one an insight into the psychology of the writer and his times.

The author, Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Chishti, better known as *Yakdil* (his poetical *nom de plume*) was born in Lahore in A.H. 1212

* *Journal of Punjab Historical Society, Lahore, Vol. VI-2, pp. 82-87*

and died in A. H. 1284 (corresponding roughly to A. D. 1795 and A. D. 1867). It may be noted that we are more familiar with the name of a distinguished son of *Yakdil*, namely Maulvi Nur Ahmad Chishti, the well-known author of the *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*. He was the eldest son of *Yakdil* and himself a ripe scholar who has left behind more than one work of historical value. The volumes of the Diary have remained in the custody of my esteemed friend Maulvi Hamid Ali Chishti to whom we are indebted for the careful preservation of this useful record, and I must take this opportunity of expressing my obligation to him for allowing me to inspect these manuscripts and for consenting to bring them to the meeting of the Society.

He has taken great pains to preserve the volumes as a precious souvenir of his grandfather, of whom he saw something in his childhood. He has prepared an index to the Diary and has marked certain pages in the volumes, which contain passages of public interest. I propose to quote a few extracts from the Diary to give some idea of its contents. I feel, however, that these or any other extracts that one might choose can do but scant justice to the whole, which requires complete leisure and long and close application to bring out all the wealth of information and thought that is to be found in it. I venture to think it would be worth while to ask some members of the Society, who may be eager to do so, to go through these volumes with their custodian, Maulvi Hamid Ali Chishti, and to make selections of passages of historic and public interest, which, I believe, would give us a decent volume embodying valuable material on the history of the Panjab in Sikh times. I hope the Society will easily be able to find some one who will feel sufficiently interested in the idea and will arrange to co-operate with Maulvi Hamid Ali in bringing out a carefully edited and abridged edition of those portions of the Diary that relate to public matters.

Before proceeding to lay before you the promised extracts, I have to make one or two general observations. I have already stated that the Diary was a private chronicle. The writer is, therefore, very frank in expressing his opinions. Some of his expressions would have to be expurgated in selections. One also comes across opinions which may express the sentiments of a century ago, but with which no one will find himself in accord today. The reader must, therefore, make due allowance for all the circumstances under which the work was done.

The Diary reminds one of similar writings in English, notably the well-known Diary of Samuel Pepys, which was written as a private journal and not published till long afterwards. The great difference, however, between the two works is that Samuel Pepys wrote a sort of shorthand which was deciphered with considerable difficulty, while Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh wrote his notes in full, without any attempt at concealment. The reason probably why Pepys chose to write in cypher was that he held office in the State, while *Yakdil*, though enjoying opportunities of intimate touch with some of the leading state officials of his period, was himself unfettered by any official restraints or responsibilities.

It is a matter for deep regret that one important volume of the series, is missing, *viz.*, that dealing with the more momentous period in the modern history of this country. What is now the twentieth volume of the book should really be called the 21st, for the 20th volume is wanting. That volume dealt with the period A. H. 1270-74 (A. D. 1853-57) and contained, among other things, a record of the period of the Mutiny. It would have been very interesting and instructive to read what people said and thought at that time. Maulvi Hamid Ali, who is responsible for the preservation of the Diary, has not seen the missing volume. He has heard, however, that his uncle Maulvi Nur Ahmad destroyed it soon after the year of the Mutiny. Maulvi Hamid Ali was an infant at that time, for he was only 11 when his grandfather died in A.D. 1867. He remembers, however, the lasting regret which the author felt over the tragic loss. The author, it seems, was of the opinion that there was hardly anything in his record of that period which it would have been necessary to suppress and was naturally reluctant that the result of four years of his labour should perish, but the son destroyed the volume considering that the times were troubled and as he probably felt uncertain in what light even an innocent record of such events might be taken.

The 41 years which the record covers are marked off in the volumes as follows :—

Volume	I	(A.H. 1236 to A.H. 1248)
„	II	(A.H. 1249 to A.H. 1250)
„	III	(A.H. 1251 to A. H. 1253)
„	IV	(A.H. 1253)
„	V	(A.H. 1253 to A.H. 1255)
„	VI	(A.H. 1255 to A.H. 1257)

„	VII	(A.H. 1258 to A.H. 1259)
„	VIII	(A.H. 1260)
„	IX	(A.H. 1261)
„	X	(A.H. 1261 to A.H. 1262)
„	XI	(A.H. 1262 to A.H. 1263)
„	XII	(A.H. 1263 to A.H. 1264)
„	XIII	(A.H. 1264 to A.H. 1265)
„	XIV	(A.H. 1265)
„	XV	(A.H. 1265 to A.H. 1266)
„	XVI	(A.H. 1266 to A.H. 1267)
„	XVII	(A.H. 1268)
„	XVIII	(A.H. 1269)
„	XIX	(A.H. 1270)
		<i>(Here one volume is missing)</i>
„	XX	(A.H. 1274 to A.H. 1277)

The extracts that I have made refer to the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and certain events that followed the death of the great Sikh ruler. They are taken from volumes VI and VII.

Referring to the death of the Maharaja, the chronicler writes :— Thursday, the 15th of Har, Sambat 1896 = 14th Rabi-us-Sani A.H. 1255. Today the Maharaja passed away in the afternoon. He was suffering from a combination of ailments. Raja Dhyan Singh has taken steps for the well-being of the town and the population.

“It is proposed to cremate the body of the Maharaja in Badami Bagh.”

“I hear that seven women, namely Kadan and Hardevi and others, were burnt with the Maharaja. A few teardrops fell from the eyes of the clouds at the time as if to bewail the loss of the lives of so many fair women.”

“Do not be inferior to a Hindu woman in love, O Yakdil !
She burns herself alive for the man whom she loved !!”

One can hardly realize that less than eighty years ago a generation of the citizens of Lahore, that passed away not long ago, witnessed the ceremony of *Sati* or widow-burning. Sir Lepel Griffin in his admirable little book on Ranjit Singh, in the Rulers of India series, refers to this incident. He says: “When Maharaja Ranjit Singh died, one of his wives, Mahtab Devi, was burnt with him and three ladies of his Zenana of the rank of Rani.” There are two other passages in the Diary, besides the one quoted above, relating to the *Satis*, and the

number of women said to have been burnt with Ranjit Singh varies according to each account. One account puts the number at four, thus supporting the version adopted by Sir Lepel Griffin, and the other puts it as high as 15—4 wives and 11 concubines.

The Diary of the 18th *Har* gives briefly the author's estimate of the Maharaja: "Ranjit Singh had taken Lahore on the 15th *Har*, Sambat 1856. He died on the 15th *Har*, 1896, thus reigning full forty years. He had a jolly disposition, was fond of pleasures of all kinds, and was extremely generous. He was God-fearing, and so far as he could help he was free from religious prejudice."

The Diary indicates the situation more than a year after the death of Ranjit Singh in the following terse passages :—

"14th *Katak*, 1897. The condition of the Sikhs is going from bad to worse. Kharak Singh is ill. Raja Dhyan Singh is inclined to be restive. The Faqir, the Raja and the Diwan are one. The Bhais have no support. Naunihal Singh is too young and foolish."

On the 22nd *Katak* is recorded the tragedy of Naunihal Singh and Kharak Singh, both passing away on one day. The words *Siharagah roz i panjshamba bist wa doem Katak* give, according to the numerical value of the letters, the year 1897, the Sambat in which the two deaths took place.

The next year, Sambat 1898, records the celebration of Dasehra by Sher Singh on a right royal scale near the Shalamar gardens, at which all the nobles, great and small, assembled, with a large show of elephants and horses.

In 1899 we find a brief allusion to the visit paid by Sher Singh to the *Jangi Lat* (the Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in India).

In Sambat 1900 there is a note which may be interesting from an astrological and possibly an astronomic point of view. The Diary of the 14th *Chet*, Sambat 1900, records as follows :—"Today a streak of light, resembling a flag, has been observed in the sky. The Brahmans say that the same appeared seventeen hundred years ago."

On the 1st of *Asuj*, Sambat 1900, is recorded the tragic story of the brutal murder of Sher Singh. The following are the observations of the writer of the Diary on this incident and the ensuing event of the murder of Raja Dhyan Singh : "After Raja Ranjit Singh, Kharak Singh reigned for year and Naunihal Singh departed from this

world with him. Chand Kaur ruled for two months and a half. Sher Singh came to the throne on the 6th of Magh, Sambat 1897, and was killed on the 18th of Asuj, Sambat 1900. Naunihal Singh died by the decree of providence and Chand Kaur was murdered by slave girls. Now they say Dhyan Singh has been killed inside the Fort by the Sandhanwalias. ...

“It was announced a short while ago by beat of drum that Dalip Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, was to succeed to the throne with Raja Dhyan Singh as Minister. It is said the Sandhanwalias were incensed at this and have murdered Dhyan Singh.”

The confusion in the city caused by these incidents is thus portrayed :—“People have buried their belongings out of fear and are very shaky. When the news of the murder of Dhyan Singh spread, there was great consternation in Lahore. Hindus and Muhammadans were all bewailing his death. The thieves and the rogues began to threaten the people and to fire guns. ... The whole of our household is very uneasy. Had it not been for Raja Hira Singh, the country would have been looted. There was gun-firing at night. Beli Ram and Gurmukh Singh were both trying to keep order at night. I was up the whole night with the men of my neighbourhood and we were keeping a watch. Some *burchhas* (*badmashes*) looted Dabbi Bazar and the bazars of the *Ilaqa* bands and shoe merchants.”

It is a characteristic feature of the Diary that the writer gives various versions of an event for what they are worth. Three versions are given of the events of the day which witnessed the cold-blooded and treacherous murder of Sher Singh. One of them is reproduced below :—

“Sher Singh was at Shah Balawal on the Sangrant day. The Sandhanwalias Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh, in conspiracy with Mehr Ghasita, decided to kill him. Ajit Singh came to Sher Singh with a *karabin* (fire-arm) with four bullets in it. He brought with him a hundred men armed with rifles and said that the day being a sacred one, it was his duty to offer some presents, and he presented the *karabin*. Sher Singh looked at the fire-arm and was going to stretch his hand towards it when the trigger was pulled and the bullet mortally wounded Sher Singh. The armed men then fell on the Maharaja and on his companions, Nikka Singh and Budh Singh, who

were all killed there and then. Ashraf, the *farash*, was also killed. Diwan Dina Nath had a narrow escape with the help of Shaikh Aminul Mulk. Many other persons were killed. Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia after this killed Partap Singh, the son of Sher Singh, in the garden of Teja Singh. The Sandhanwalias then left for the fort with the heads of the Maharaja and his son."

They killed Dhyan Singh after this, a reference to which murder has already been made. The rapidity with which blood-curdling events succeeded one another in these days is illustrated by another passage in the Diary, where we are told that Hira Singh avenged these murders. Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh were both killed and the dead bodies of both were dragged through the streets of Lahore and were hung up outside the Delhi and Kashmiri gates, respectively. The story as to how two such desperate men, who had successfully manoeuvred to bring about a revolution, were killed, is thus given in the Diary:—

"Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh occupied the fort, and sending for the officers of the State began to bestow rewards. It was very unwise of them to do so at that critical moment. They made mistake first in killing Raja Dhyan Singh, and as they had done so, the best policy for them would have been to march out into the town with ten elephants laden with ten Lakhs of rupees and with Prince Dalip Singh at the head of the procession and to go about bestowing *bakhshish*. They could have then issued orders for the arrest of Raja Hira Singh, and it would not have been surprising if the Sikhs had helped in his arrest out of greed for money. But it was not good for them to sit comfortably inside the fort as they did. When the news of the murder of Raja Dhyan Singh reached the army, Raja Hira Singh worked upon the feelings of the troops and said that if they helped him in avenging his father's death he would forever be beholden to them, and they all decided to stand up for him. They succeeded in winning a victory over the Sandhanwalias in about 24 hours. Ajit Singh fled from the fort and was caught scaling a wall and beheaded. Lehna Singh was struck with a bullet and fell as he reached his sleeping-room. They were both killed and met with their deserts."

The writer's sympathies seem to have been decidedly with the Maharaja and his minister. He mentions a reward of Rs. 200 that he had recently received from Maharaja Sher Singh, through the kind offices of Diwan Dina Nath, when he presented a poem of eulogy. Moreover, as a peace-loving citizen and as a man of learning he was in

favour of the established order of things. His sentiments found fit expression in a beautiful line, which gives also the date of the tragedies alluded to above (Sambat 1900) :—

Ba shauq sagan shikar-i-sheeran kardand.

The writer ... deploras in feeling terms this ruinous civil war among the Sikhs, saying :—

“The Sikhs by thus cruelly treating the Sikhs have, in reality, ruined themselves with their own hands.” How true and prophetic this reflection was, has been abundantly proved by what happened afterwards.

The East India Company's Policy towards the Sikhs (1764-1808)

P. N. BHALLA*

From the year 1764 until the establishment of the British rule, the Upper Doab was in a helpless state of defence. Complete anarchy prevailed in this region. The weakness of the political authority at Delhi and the centrifugal tendencies, which were its inevitable consequences, exposed the people to the ravages of the Jats, the Rohillas and the Sikhs. One of the most prominent features of the history of the Doab during this period was the constant raids or incursions which the Sikhs led practically every year when the crops were cut and the Ganges and the Jamna were fordable. By 1764 they had become the master of the Cis-Sutlej region and were free to undertake these plundering expeditions. The fertility of the Doab, the sandy and the unproductive nature of their own country, the political and the military weakness of the Delhi Government and above all their instincts for plunder prompted the Sikhs to attack the territories across the Jamna. They did not pursue any well laid out policy. They never aimed at permanent conquest of the territories they overran. As a matter of fact their mutual jealousies and rivalries incapacitated them from accomplishing any such thing. They simply aimed at plundering and naturally these raids caused considerable havoc†. They laid waste the country. They plundered and burnt the villages, carried off the cattle together with the inhabitants—men, women and children— and extorted contribution in money and grain.

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† The Sikh incursions into the Doab have invariably been misunderstood by writers fed on one-sided information. The Sikhs crossed the Jamuna not for plunder but either to pin down the Rohilla allies of the foreign invader, Ahmad Shah Durrani, to their own homelands or to divert their attention during their campaigns against the Jats of Bharatpur who occasionally asked for the help of the Sikh Sardars. At times the Sikhs carried their arms across the Jamuna to strike a blow at the Rohillas to incapacitate them, and also at the officials of the Mughal Government, to lead expeditions into the Punjab which the Sikhs had freed from under the yoke of the Delhi Mughals and Kabul Afgans.—Ed.

All trade came to a stand-still. Important cities and towns were completely deserted.

The question arises, were the political authorities at Delhi and near about merely idle spectators? Najaf Khan, the last great minister of the Delhi Government, Mahadji Sindhia, the Mir Bakshi of the Empire, and his successor, Daulat Rao Sindhia, were all in turn faced with a problem of overcoming the menace of the Sikhs and defending the Imperial territories. Both force and diplomacy were employed but with no practical success. No greater proof of the military decline and impotency of the Delhi Government is needed. The Sikhs repeated their incursions every year. The main cause of their success lay in superior cavalry, the rapidity with which they marched and the guerilla tactics they followed.

The Imperial and the Maratha forces found themselves almost helpless.

The activities of the Sikhs were not confined or restricted to the Upper Doab alone. Their success emboldened them and whetted their appetite for plunder. More often than not they forded the river Ganges and penetrated into the dominions of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and Rohilkhand. This exposure of the Vazir's western frontier to the incursions of the Sikhs alarmed the Company's Government. In 1764 the English forces defeated Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab Vazir, at Buxar and he was forced to enter into treaty with the Company. The Company undertook to defend the Vazir's territories and promised to protect them from internal disturbances and external aggression. The cardinal feature of Warren Hastings' foreign policy henceforward was the maintenance of Oudh as a buffer state so as to save the Company's territories from the attacks of the other powers. The Company's Government naturally began to view with alarm the success of the Sikhs and the chaotic state of affairs on the west of the Ganges still further increased their concern.

The English Government did not want to fish in troubled waters. A number of times they were approached by the Mughals, the Sikhs and the Maratha Sardars. The Mughal authorities at Delhi sought their aid in repelling the Sikh attacks and restoring peace and order in the Doab. When the Maratha sway in Shah Alam II's Court was fully established, they too tried to win over

English friendship and secure their help in order to put up a joint front against the Sikhs and check their plundering expeditions. The Sikh Sardars of Cis-Sutlej region also approached them. But the English Government followed the policy of 'Masterly-inactivity.' They were against a definite alliance with any party and refused to commit themselves. On the other hand, they made every effort to keep up friendly relations with both the powers. This policy of friendly intercourse was supplemented by defensive measures on the frontier of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh's territories. A close watch was kept on the fords of the Ganges in the dry season. The English troops were stationed at Fatehgarh, Daranagar and Anupshahar. These stations continued to be important military posts until the annexation of the Upper Doab by the English. The help and the co-operation of the zamindars on the Nawab Vazir's frontier was also sought to repel Sikh attacks. The Company's Government strictly adhered to this defensive policy, and no suggestion regarding offensive measures was ever entertained throughout this period. The Nawab Vazir of Oudh often impressed upon the Company the desirability of undertaking offensive against the Sikhs, but the suggestion was always vetoed.

Was this policy a success? It was certainly successful in the sense that it saved the Company from undertaking costly operations. The mutual jealousies and rivalries of the native powers prepared the ground for the subjection to the British rule. The English, however, did not succeed in saving the Nawab Vazir's dominions from the Sikh ravages. The Sikh forces often crossed the Ganges during the dry months and made their incursions into the Vazir's territories. Their movements were always very rapid and they avoided every chance of coming in conflict with the English forces. Having plundered the country they disappeared as quickly as they appeared. Their chief advantage lay in superior cavalry. They had the best cavalry in Hindustan. The English and the Nawab Vazir did not have good cavalry and were thus prevented from pursuing the Sikhs or giving them a hot chase. On the other hand, the superiority of the English forces lay in their artillery. The Sikhs had no artillery and hardly understood its use. This saved the places they overran from complete subjection.

(2)

In 1776 Warren Hastings' mind was troubled by a general

rumour that the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Rohillas had formed a league with the object of attacking the dominions of the Nawab Vazir. He, therefore, decided to win over the friendship of Najaf Khan, the Regent of Delhi, and form an alliance with him before the season for action set in. The Board agreed to renew his pension and promised to pay the arrears. Accordingly Major Hannay, who was personally known to Najaf Khan and was well informed of the political state of affairs, was deputed to the Delhi Court. He was asked to negotiate a defensive alliance. In return for the renewal of pension, Najaf Khan was to help the Company in repelling the hostile designs of the Marathas and the Sikhs. No promise of help was to be given to him and Hannay was particularly instructed to guard Najaf Khan against his entertaining any expectation of actual aid from the Company's forces. Thus it appears that the English wanted a purely defensive alliance to their own advantage. In its letter to the Court of Directors, the Board wrote, "By the whole tenor of the instructions to the Major Hannay...you will perceive that our views in this appointment are purely defensive and that Major Hannay's positively forbidden to listen to any propositions of a contrary tendency."¹ Major Hannay was also asked to work for the restoration of friendly relations between the Nawab Vazir's Court and Najaf Khan², and the brother of the Nawab. Above all he was instructed to transmit to the Company from time to time "the most exact information of the natural strength and forces, and revenues and the characteristics, connections and designs of the princes and countries in the neighbourhood of Najaf Khan".³ The Board ordered Hannay not to cross the boundaries of the Company's dominions until Najaf Khan agreed to disband his European forces and particularly to dismiss from his service the assassin Samru⁴. The compliance with these two requisitions was to be the preliminary and indispensable condition to any treaty which might be concluded.

1. Secret letter to Court, dated 12th Sepr. 1776.
2. Mirza Saadat Ali Khan was on unfriendly terms with his brother, Asaf-ud-daula, the Nawab-Vazir. He had taken refuge in the court of Najaf Khan.
3. Instructions to Hannay, Secret Dept. Proceedings, 29th August. 1776, No. 2.
4. Samru was a German adventurer. He took part in the Patna massacre of Oct. 1763, and put 51 Englishmen and 100 others to death.

Major Hannay reached Chunargarh. From there he wrote letters to Najaf Khan impressing upon him the necessity of dismissing Samru. But Najaf Khan, who needed Samru's services in the campaign against the Jats, was not prepared to comply with the request of the English. Major Hannay exceeded his instructions and in February 1777, he decided to proceed to Lucknow. He crossed the boundaries of the Company's dominions without the previous permission of the Board and thus disregarded their instructions. The excuse he put forward was that he proceeded on the advice of Middleton, the British Resident at Lucknow. In his letter to the Board, dated the 10th Feb. 1777, Hannay explained reasons for leaving Chunar. That place was far removed from the channel of intelligence and was at a great distance from Najaf Khan's army. On the other hand, Lucknow was nearer to Delhi; and by staying there it would be very easy for him to negotiate with Najaf Khan. Moreover, he hoped to utilize the services of Mirza Khalil who was a confidant of Najaf Khan and stood high in his favour.⁵

Major Hannay stayed at Lucknow till November 1777. Nothing tangible resulted from the negotiations. General Clavering, a member of the Governor-General's Council, objected to his continuance. He pointed out that there was no longer any danger of attack to the Nawab Vazir's dominions. Moreover, Najaf Khan was not prepared to agree to the preliminary conditions laid down by the Board. So General Clavering held that it was futile on Major Hannay's part to continue to stay at Lucknow. He went so far as to remark that "if nothing, more, however, is meant than to procure a lucrative commission for Major Hannay, I should imagine that other means might be devised for that purpose."⁶...Major Hannay himself despaired of accomplishing the object of his mission decided to return to Calcutta.

Thus we find that the attempt of the English to come to an understanding with Najaf Khan, with the object to securing his help to guard Nawab Vazir's western frontier, came to an end. The negotiations were bound to fail because the Company wanted to get his help without promising him military aid in time of need. Moreover,

5. See letter from Hannay, dated 10th Feb. 1777. Secret Dept. Proceedings, 14 April, 1777, No. 3.

6. General Clavering's Minute, Secret Dept. Proceedings, 30 Oct. 1777, No. 3.

the preliminary conditions were such as Najaf Khan could never accept.

(3)

In April 1782 Mirza Najaf Khan died. He was the last great Minister. With his death departed the solidarity of the Mughul Government. Henceforward Delhi became the scene of perennial revolution. The Sikhs took advantage of this lack of competent political authority and the frequent political changes and renewed their depredations with added zeal and vigour. Moreover, the country was in the grip of famine. The years 1781 and 1782 were marked by scarcity of rain resulting in drought, the full effects of which were to be felt in the following year. Thus because of the weakness of the Delhi Government and the prevailing of the famine conditions, the Sikhs attacked the neighbourhood of Delhi and the Doab. They penetrated as far as Rohilkhand and the Nawab Vazir's territories.

The Company's government was alarmed. Besides taking defensive measures to save the Oudh frontier from the ravages of the Sikhs, Warren Hastings also thought it prudent to depute a British Agent at the Court of Delhi who might help to deter the Sikhs from molesting the Nawab Vazir's territories. Accordingly Major James Browne was sent to Delhi in August 1782. In one of his letters to Abdul Ahad Khan, Browne asserted that "He has been deputed to the presence in order to negotiate all these affairs, i.e., Sikh disturbances."⁷ He met Mirza Shafi, the Regent of the Empire, at Agra in Feb. 1783 and stayed there till Novr. 1783 when he moved to Delhi.

Browne's presence at Agra gave rise to certain apprehensions in the minds of the Sikh Sardars. They thought that the Mughals and the English might co-operate against them and attack their possessions.⁸ In order to safeguard themselves against this contingency, the Sikh Sardars decided to open friendly negotiations with Major Browne. Rai Singh, Kurram Singh, Jassa Singh, Baghel Singh and Meharban Singh wrote letters to James Browne with the object of seeking English alliance. Lakhpat Rai, the Sikh Wakil at Delhi, sought interview with him. Browne told him that he would be glad to see him when he reached Delhi and would send an envoy or a confidential

7. Browne's letter to Abdul Ahad, dated 5th April, 1783, *Calender of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. viii, p. 99.

person to visit the courts of various Sikh Sardars. He also expressed his great concern over the practice of the Sikhs to ravage the Imperial as well as the Nawab Vazir of Oudh's territories.

The Sikh inroad of the year 1783-84 was very formidable. Browne was at that time in Delhi. In the beginning of 1784 he received a letter from the Sikh Sardar, Kalyan Singh. He impressed upon the Vakil of the latter the desirability and the prudence of giving up their plundering raids and harassing the Delhi Government. He had been regularly sending news to the Governor-General regarding the activities of the Sikhs but received no definite instructions. He became impatient and in his letter, dated the 13th February, 1784, he complained "as during above twelve months I have not been made happy by the smallest intentions of your pleasure on any subject whatever, I am ignorant of the part you mean to take in matters respecting the Sikhs .."⁹

During the months of January-February, 1785, the Sikhs ravaged the Doab and Rohilkhand. Mahadji Sindhia, who had become Regent of the Empire in December 1784, decided to come to an understanding with the Sikhs. He opened friendly negotiations with them with the object of winning their friendship and securing their co-operation. It was certainly a very wise move on his part. In January 1785, Ambaji Ingle was appointed faujdar of the territories west to Delhi. He was asked to open negotiations with them. Negotiations were started in February and resulted in a provisional treaty between Ambaji Ingle and the Sikh Sardars on the 31st March 1785.¹⁰ The Sardars were to give up their claims to Rakhi and Ambaji Ingle in turn agreed to use his influence with Mahadji Sindhia to compensate them. Their armies were to co-operate and in return for it the Sikhs were to receive one-third of the conquests made by the combined forces either on the western or the eastern side of the Jamna. Ambaji Ingle and the Sikh Sardar Dulcha Singh decided to go to Sindhia's camp at Mathura. They reached there on 9th April. Peace negotiations were continued, resulting in a definitive treaty, signed on 10th May, 1785.¹¹ The Sikhs were to furnish 5,000 horses. They

9. Browne's letter to Warren Hastings, dated 13th Feb. 1784. *Browne's correspondence*, p.448.

10. See C.P.C., Vol. vii, P. 68.

11. See C.P.C., Vol. vii, P. 74. Also Sarkar, Mahadji Sindhia, letter No. 15-A

were to receive a Jagir of 10 Lakhs of rupees, that of $7\frac{1}{2}$ Lakhs in the neighbourhood of Delhi and the remaining Jagir of $2\frac{1}{2}$ Lakhs from the country of the Sircar.¹² In case their forces were utilised before they were put in possession of the jagir, then they would receive payment of half a rupee per horseman. The Sikhs also agreed to give up levying Rakhi in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The legal implication of this agreement was that the Sikh Sardars became the Mansabdars of the Mughul Empire and were taken into Imperial service.

The Maratha-Sikh negotiations gave rise to a good deal of alarm and uneasiness in the minds of the English and the Nawab Vazir. The latter thought the Sikhs were receiving encouragement from Sindhia in their attack on his territories.¹³ Immediately when the Maratha-Sikh negotiations were begun, Anderson, the British Resident with Sindhia, directed his munshi to see the Maratha Chief.¹⁴ Sindhia assured him that the alliance would not be directed against the Nawab Vazir. On the 31st March the provisional treaty was concluded. Its terms were kept secret. The apprehensions of the Nawab Vazir that the treaty was directed against him increased.¹⁵ On 13th April, Anderson waited on Sindhia. They discussed the terms of the Treaty.¹⁶ Sindhia assured him that his object in attaching himself with the Sikhs was only twofold. Firstly, with their help he hoped to establish his influence in the territory west of Delhi. Secondly, he hoped to utilize their forces in the reduction of Jaipur and Marwar Rajas, who had withheld the payment of tribute. But these assurances did not allay the fears of the Nawab Vazir or that of the English. On 10th May, a definite agreement was concluded which still further increased their apprehensions and they directed their efforts to secure its nullification.

12 Namely the four parganahs, Gohana, Kharkhoda, Tosham and Maham.

13 See letter from Resident with Sindhia to the Governor-General, dated 13th Feb. 1785, Secret Deptt. Proceedings, 8th March, 1785; pp. 584-85.

14 See letter from Anderson, 10th Feb. 1785, Secret Deptt. Proceedings, 1st March 1785, No. I.

15 See letter from Anderson, 11th April, 1785, Secret Deptt. Proceedings, 26th Apl. 1785, p. 1316.

16 See letter from Resident with Sindhia to the Governor-General, dated 14th Apl. 1785. Secret Deptt. Proceedings, 3rd May, 1785, pp. 9-12.

The Sikhs do not seem to have been sincerely attached to the Marathas. They were playing a double game. While they were carrying on negotiations with Mahadji, they sounded the English as well. During the months of April and May, 1785, they attempted to form an alliance with the English. Early in April they sent their Vakil to see Colonel Sir John Cumming, who was in charge of the Company's detachment at Anupshahar, in this connection.¹⁷ In May they wrote letters to him. Their agent also saw Major William Palmer, British Resident at Lucknow. On 9th May a Sikh Vakil saw Anderson's munshi in the garb of a trader and impressed upon him the fact that his master, Dulcha Singh, as well as the other Sikh Sardars were anxious to establish friendly relations with the English.¹⁸ All these overtures were turned down and their efforts resulted in nothing. The Company's Government never favoured the idea of definite alliance with the Sikhs and did not go beyond giving assurances of friendship to them provided they abstained from attacking the Nawab Vazir's territories. The English thought that it was better not to ally with any one of the contending parties because otherwise they would be drawn into the complications of the Doab politics. They considered it more prudent to strengthen their defences and remain on friendly terms with all the powers beyond the Ganges.

In July 1786, the Governor-General Macpherson decided to send a British agent to the Sikh courts with the object of cultivating their friendship and preventing them from undertaking devastating raids into the Nawab Vazir's territories. George Forster was employed on this secret mission because he had travelled in the territories of the Sikhs and was well acquainted with them. He was asked to gather political information about the country. He was also told not to enter into specific engagements with the Sikh chiefs without the previous sanction or consent of the Government. Lord Cornwallis wrote to George Forster to the same effect. In his letter dated the 29th December, 1786, he impressed the view "I have no objection to cultivating that sort of intercourse with the Sikhs, which embraces no objects of a

17 See letter from Cumming, 11th Apl. 1785, Secret Deptt. Proceedings, 26th Apl. 1785, p. 1322.

18 See letter from Anderson, 10th May, 1785, Secret Deptt. Proceedings, 26th May, 1785, pp. 274-76.

direct political tendency and no other end but the maintenance of good neighbourhood."¹⁹

George Forster stayed at Lucknow and Fatehgarh from July, 1786 to August, 1787. He sent his agent into the country of the Sikhs. He received letters from some of the Sikh chiefs containing warm profession of their amicable dispositions towards the English Government. As the relations of the Sikhs with the Marathas were becoming strained, they expressed a desire to form a definite alliance with the English. But the Company refused to depart from its original policy.

(4)

In January 1791 the Sikhs attacked the Nawab Vazir's territories and carried away Col. Stuart, the commanding officer at Anupshahar, with the object of getting a handsome ransom from the Company's authorities. The Sikh Sardar Bhanga Singh kept him imprisoned in the fort of Thanesar.²⁰ The Nawab Vazir suggested strong military operations against the Sikhs with the object of securing the release of Col. Stuart. The suggestion was not approved of because the despatch of the Company's troops into the Doab would irritate or give offence both to the Sikhs and the Marathas.²¹ The Governor-General wrote to the Resident at Lucknow that "it would be improper at any time, and most specially at the present juncture, to undertake distant, and uncertain military operations in resentment of slight injuries or in order to prevent such predatory incursions as those of the Sikhs ..."²² Efforts were made to secure Col. Stuart's release through negotiations. The services of Fyzullah Khan and Jafar Khan, two local chiefs in charge of some of the ghats on the Ganges, were utilised for that purpose.²³ Letters were also written by the Nawab Vazir and the Resident of Lucknow to the Sikh Sardars.

19 Secret. Deptt. Proceedings, 31st Jan. 1787, p. 721.

20 See Stuart's letter to Bradley, dated 3rd Feb. 1791, Pol. Deptt. Proceedings, 2nd March, 1791.

21 See letter from Resident at Lucknow, dated 8th Jan. 1791. Pol. Deptt. Proceedings, 17th Jan. 1791, No. 4.

22 Letter to Resident at Lucknow, dated 17th Jan. 1791. Political consultation, 21st Jan. 1791, No. 2. Copies of letters from Governor-General to the Resident at Lucknow.

23 See Pol. Deptt. Proceedings, 21st Jan. 1791, No. 4.

The negotiations resulted in nothing. The Sikhs demanded a heavy ransom of 60,000 rupees. But the Company showed no inclination for ransoming Col. Stuart. It was Begam Samru who secured Col. Stuart's release by paying a sum of 15,000 rupees to Bhanga Singh and to other Sikhs who were instrumental in this business.²⁴ Later on the money was paid to her by the Company. Col. Stuart was released on 24th Oct. 1797.

The above mentioned incident clearly brings out the fact that the English strictly adhered to the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the Doab. An English Officer had been carried away but no forces were sent to secure his release or pursue the Sikhs.

(5)

Throughout the last decade of the eighteenth century the Sikh Sardars repeated their incursions into the Doab. This resulted in considerable destruction and devastations. The people found themselves helpless and were forced to take refuge in mud forts which were inaccessible to cavalry. In the meantime the minds of the British statesmen began to be troubled by the possibility of a foreign invasion on India through the North-West Frontier. There was a strong rumour early in the year 1800 that Zaman Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan, was meditating an attack on India. So Lord Wellesley decided to despatch an envoy to the Lahore Court with the object²⁵ of counteracting the designs of Zaman Shah by preventing Ranjit Singh from joining him. The British envoy, Mir. Yusuf Ali, visited the courts of the various Sikh Sardars during the year 1800-1801. His mission was a complete failure and nothing tangible resulted from the negotiations. The Cis-Sutlej Chiefs were anxious for a defensive alliance. They wanted English help against George Thomas who had attacked their country. But Mir Yusuf Ali was forbidden to enter into any definite treaty, the object of his mission being simply to win over the friendship of the Sikhs. In the meantime the possibility of an immediate danger from Zaman Shah was removed and Mir Yusuf Ali was recalled early in March 1801.²⁶

24 See Begam Samru's letter to Resident with Sindhia, Pol. Deptt. Proceedings, 18th Apl. 1792, No. 15.

25 See instructions to Mir Yusuf Ali, Secret Deptt. Proc., 16th Oct. 1800, No. 5.

26 See letter from Resident with Daulat Rao Sindhia, Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 1X, No. 246.

(6)

On 11th September, 1803, the battle of Delhi was fought. Marathas were defeated by the English forces. Shah Alam passed under the protection of the Company. The Doab was annexed and the Company's territories were extended to the Jamna. Some of the Cis-Sutlej Sardars also tendered their allegiance to the English.

In December 1804 the British Resident at Delhi put forward the suggestion that the whole country to the bank of the Sutlej be annexed to the Company's dominions in order to secure the Doab from Sikh attacks. He wrote to the following effect to the Governor-General: "I feel persuaded that your Excellency might annex the whole country to the banks of the Sutlej to the dominions of His Majesty ... and thereby keep up such a force as would effectually secure the Doab from future irruptions."²⁷ But this suggestion was not approved of by Lord Wellesley.²⁸ He did not favour the idea of annexing the territories of the Cis-Sutlej chiefs and establishing direct control over them. He was against entering into any treaty engagements with the Sikh Sardars. On the other hand, he recommended that perfect neutrality be maintained and a large force be stationed on the North-West Frontier of the Company. This force was to remain, in war or peace, in constant readiness, to prevent encroachments.

But the irruptions did not cease. The lawless activities of the Sikhs continued till 1806. The year 1805 was particularly marked by a serious irruption into the Upper Doab.²⁹ It resulted in wanton destruction. About 4,000 to 6,000 villages were burnt. Crops to the value of 50,000 rupees were destroyed. The raid caused an immense amount of misery which can not be reduced to statistics.

Ranjit Singh at this time was fast rising to power. He was extending his sway over the whole of the Panjab. The Cis-Sutlej Sikhs became apprehensive and sought British protection. In March 1808 some of the Sikh Sardars waited on the British Resident at Delhi. But they failed to obtain positive assurances and had to go disappointed.

But soon Lord Minto realised the necessity of modifying this

27 Letter from Resident at Delhi, Secret Dept. Proc., 31st Jan. 1805, No. 230.

28 See Lord Wellesley's letter to Resident at Delhi, dated 13th Jan. 1805, Secret Dept. Proc., 31st Jan. 1805, No. 243.

29 See *Calcutta Review* 1875, Vol. IX, article by G.R.C. Williams.

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policy. The British statesmen, both in England and India, were troubled by the designs of Napoleon. The fear of the French attack through the North-West Frontier began to loom large before them. It was decided to take the Cis-Sutlej Sardars under the protection of the Company and come to an agreement with Ranjit Singh.

Metcalf was sent on a mission to Ranjit Singh's Court and concluded the Treaty of Amritsar in April 1809. In May 1809, the Cis-Sutlej states were taken under the protection of the Company.

Early Phases of the Sikh Renaissance and Struggle for Freedom

K. S. TALWAR*

The idea of freedom from British domination has a history as old as the alien rule itself. It evolved through a number of stages. From purely anti-British sentiment, mainly confined to a particular community or region, it grew into a positive national feeling embracing the whole of the country. But even as an Indian national consciousness developed, communal and regional pulls continued to provide motivation, consciously or unconsciously, to a large body of politically awakened Indians. The sense of history and the hold of religion particularly contributed to the advent of nationalism and particularism. The following account of political awareness among the Sikhs, which clearly reveals this pattern, is not altogether peculiar to that community.

The struggle for freedom among the Sikhs started soon after the annexation of the Punjab. The first person who revolted against the new regime was Bhai Maharaj Singh. After the battle of Gujrat, when all other Sikh chiefs, not listening to the suggestion of the Bhai to fight yet another battle either at Rawalpindi or at Punja Sahib, surrendered to the British in March, 1849, Maharaj Singh abruptly and secretly left them and went underground to prepare the Sikhs for a general rebellion against the foreign rule. He aimed at, first, creating hatred against the English; second, inciting the Sikhs to disrupt the British administrative machinery by subversion and surprise attacks on the treasuries and cantonments and, third, re-establishing the Sikh Raj in the Punjab. With these aims in view he planned to take away Maharaja Dalip Singh from the British hands. Himself a religious man of great repute, the Bhai established contacts with and sent missionaries to various influential Sikh priests at different places and sought their co-operation.

Even for his earlier anti-British attitude during the Second Anglo-Sikh War, Maharaj Singh had been declared an out-law. His subsequent activities further alarmed the English and they declared a

*National Archives of India, New Delhi.

reward of Rs. 10,000 for his arrest. Undaunted, Maharaj Singh continued his endeavours. In a secret meeting at Zahura he projected his first attack on the British cantonments at Jullundur and Hoshiarpur for 1st January, 1850. Immediately after this he received the shocking news of the failure of his scheme to abduct Maharaja Dalip Singh.

Maharaj Singh, however, continued preparations for his contemplated attack. He held many successful meetings at various places thereby adding to the optimism of his followers and to the anxiety of the English. As a measure to effect his arrest a net of government spies, mostly Mohammedans, was spread throughout the Punjab. The scheme worked and the English succeeded in arresting him while he was presiding over a meeting near Adampur on 28th December, 1849, only three days before the projected attack.¹ Soon after he was deported as a State prisoner to Singapore, where he lived for 7 years till his death on 5th July, 1856.²

The arrest and deportation of Bhai Maharaj Singh did not end the Sikh fight for freedom. Stray instances of the struggle continued and the English found that their rule in the Punjab had not yet taken roots. Realising that religion was a great factor in the Sikh struggle for freedom, they not only tried to control the religious affairs of the Sikhs and inculcate in them the spirit of loyalty towards the British rule through Sikh religious institutions, but also viewed with suspicion any socio-religious reform movement among them. The following extract from a note by Aitchison is a typical example of the official attitude towards religious movements³ :

The fact is that in India it is impossible to separate such movements from political objects. All religious movements in India are political. The people have not yet learned to sever religious faith from civil government. Hence the constant fear that the British Government is aiming directly at the conversion of the people to Christianity. Hence also the fact that every attempt to establish a new creed takes, more or less avowedly, the form of an attempt to establish a new Government.

1. See Punjab Board of Administration to Government of India, 27 December, 1850 (Foreign Department, Secret Consultations, 31 January, 1851, 20-32).
2. Foreign Department, Political Consultations, 29 August, 1856, 225.
3. Foreign Department, Political A Proceedings, July 1863, 154-156.

A movement that accelerated the growth of public consciousness, without itself being overtly political, was started by Baba Ram Singh. Known as the Namdhari or Kuka movement, it was directed towards inculcating a strict morality among the Sikhs and restoring the Sikh religion to its original purity. The Baba eschewed politics. But to many, his teachings tended to show that his long term objective was to prepare the people for self-dependence. Some of his followers even began to look forward to the re-establishment of the Khalsa Raj. In 1869, for instance, the Kukas of Ferozepur after collecting all their cash and grain into a common stock, proclaimed the Sikh Raj.⁴

Though the Baba's mission was marked by 'the teaching of righteousness toleration and mercy', some of his followers got out of control and in a fit of religious frenzy committed certain excesses.⁵ Realising, perhaps, that this tended to make the sect unpopular, Baba Ram Singh attempted to win back the sympathy of the general public and took up the cow question. This provided a common platform for all the Hindus and Sikhs to unite, but at the same time it brought the Kuka sect in direct clash with the 'beef-eating' English. Some of the more zealous of the Kukas got excited over the killing of the cows in the Punjab and murdered butchers at Amritsar and Raikot near Ludhiana in June and July 1871. Again an attack was made on the Muhammedan town of Malerkotla on 15th January, 1872. This gave the authorities an opportunity to implicate Baba Ram Singh and his important lieutenants in these troubles. The Baba and many of his followers were arrested and deported. As a punishment and as an example for others, 65 Kukas were blown off from the cannon's mouth and more severe restrictions were imposed on the sect.†

4 Home Department, Judicial A Proceedings, August 1872, 273-284, Appendix A, No. 4.

5 Foreign Department, Political A Proceedings, April 1869, 65-67. The official version has obviously to be accepted with a pinch of salt.

†These restrictions and vigilance over the Kooka headquarters at Bhaini, in the district of Ludhiana, continued for half a century and were removed in 1922 only when the Punjab Government found the Kookas opposing the anti-Government Akali agitation. For details, see *Some Confidential Papers of the Akali Movement* (Amritsar, 1965), pp. xii-xiv, 18, 303.

The entanglement of Baba Ram Singh in the Malud and Malerkotla affair and his arrest and deportataion were in no way justified as he was opposed to the

[Continued on page 291.]

These strong measures of the Government, naturally, weakened the agitation and dampened the sympathy of the general population for the movement for some time.⁶

The next phase of the Kuka movement saw the secret despatch of emissaries, singly and in small numbers, to Burma to seek guidance from their deported leader, and to Russia to gain its sympathies. Inside the country meetings inspiring political feelings continued to be held. By and by the agitation for the prohibition of the cow slaughter spread. In the eighties of the last century Swami Dayanand took up the Cow question and established Cow Protection Societies in various towns. The movement assumed an all-India character. Kukas became active again. They, in small parties, began itinerating the Punjab and vowed to abstain from the use of milk, ghee and butter until they had succeeded in putting a stop to cow-killing. Alongside cow-protection the Kukas continued to spread hatred for the foreigners. They were often heard reciting verses to the following effect:⁷

*'London se malechh char ae;
Inhan ne ghar ghar bucher khane pae;
Gur.in [sic] de inhan ghat karae;
Sannu hun sir dene ae.'*

(The unclean have come from London, and have established slaughter houses in every place. They have killed our Gurus, and we must now sacrifice ourselves).

Continued from page 290]

Kookas marching against Malerkotla and had informed the police regarding their intentions. (T. D. Forsyth Commissioner, to the Officiating Secretary, Punjab, January 18, 1872). He had nowhere taken any part in the murders of the butchers, nor had he committed any other crime or disobeyed the summons or orders of the Government. *Kuka Papers*, London, 1872; *Papers relating to the Kooka Sect*, Lahore, 1872.—Ed.

6 For details, see Fauja Singh Bajwa, *Kuka Movement* (Delhi).

7 Foreign Department, Confidential B (Internal B) Proceedings, 1894, 158-160.

Though the word in the official file is gurus, it should evidently be *gaoan* which would mean cows; it not only tallies with the slaughter houses referred to in the second line but also conforms to the historical fact that the British had not killed a single *guru*. I am grateful to Prof. Ganda Singh for this suggestion.

The news of the impending arrival of Maharaja Dalip Singh in 1885-86 made the Sikhs and particularly the Kukas hopeful of the restoration of the Khalsa Raj. Hand-bills and books were printed and the coming back of the Maharaja was given wide publicity. The result was that, 'a village in the Lahore district refused to pay its land revenues saying that the tribute was due only to their king (Dalip Singh) who was shortly to arrive in India.'⁸

Though Dalip Singh was not allowed to come to the Punjab, the dream of restoring the Khalsa Raj survived. Writing as late as 1896, J. P. Warburton, an English senior police officer who had a 'close acquaintance with the Kuka sect from the beginning of 1872,' observed⁹:

I am satisfied that the political aspirations of the sect, their hostility towards the ruling power and their capacity and disposition of seriously disturbing the public peace are still harboured, though in a latent form. The inflammable material exists in abundance and needs only a spark to ignite it.

The next move for the liberation of the Punjab was the result of the general awakening produced by the Singh Sabha movement. Started during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, this movement like that of the Kukas, aimed at introducing socio-religious reforms in the Sikh community. Its aim was to interpret truly the teaching of the *Adi Granth* and other sacred books, and to demolish false doctrines and improper customs that had crept into the Sikh faith, and to maintain a separate communal existence for the Sikhs. Within the span of three decades, the Singh Sabha movement became widespread and it led to the emergence of numerous Singh Sabhas in different towns and the despatch of *Updeshaks* or missionaries throughout the country by the Chief Khalsa Diwan.

There grew up a section among the Sikhs who, apart from maintaining their separate entity, longed to see their rule in the Punjab re-established soon. This section, whose number began to

8 Criminal Intelligence Department, *Secret Memorandum on Recent Developments in Sikh Politics*, 1911 (hereinafter *Secret Memorandum*), p. 8.

Foreign Department, Confidential B (General) Proceeding, 1911, 63.

9 Office of the Political Agent, Phulkian States and Bahawalpur, Confidential file No. D. 4-6, Volume I.

increase rapidly, was called 'Neo-Sikhs' in official circles.

The *Updeshaks* soon began to talk on the political conditions of the Sikhs also. In many of their meetings the Sikh national and religious traditions were cleverly exploited to inflame the martial instinct of the Sikhs and encourage the idea that if the Sikhs were to combine they could successfully make the the country free. After making a reference to the past glories of the Sikh rule, these missionaries often argued that the vicious social custom and the neglect of religion and education were the direct causes of the political downfall of the Sikh nation. They also compared their degraded conditions under the British with the tyranny and oppression of the Mughal rule and suggested that similarity in effect was due to the similarity in causes. Reminding their listeners that in the tenth guru's time "freedom and national power were obtained by unity and by valour on the field of battle," these *Updeshaks* exhorted the Sikhs to rise against the British for, as they asked, could not the present day Sikhs free and elevate themselves by resort to similar means ?¹⁰

Bawa Mehr Singh, *Pujari* incharge of the historic Gurdwara near the fort at Lahore, while addressing an assembly of the Sikhs in 1907, said:¹¹

The country was taken away from us by the English who were worse in every way than the *Mlechas* of the years gone by, and that too by pretending to be our friends. They carried away our Rajkumar Dhulip Singh and deprived him both of religion and his country. The Khalsa turned itself to the service of the *Goras* (English soldiers) and for them cut the throat of their brethren. Has all this pleased our Gurus? No. No. Never. It is our duty to help those who want to take back the land of their forefathers from the English. Brethren, here is *Granth Sahib* (the sacred book). Now you must swear by it that you will carry out the work of the Guru.

Similarly analysing the conditions prevailing under the British

10 *Secret Memorandum*, p. 13.

11 Daily report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, 20 June, 1907, Home Department, Political B Proceeding, July 1907, 163.

Government, *Updeshak* Jagat Singh said in November 1909:¹²

Agriculturists were a very important class as on them depended the food supply of the people, nevertheless they were not treated well or helped by anyone. On the contrary their very blood was squeezed out of them. Government was contemplating the recovery from the agriculturists, along with the land revenue, of 52 lakhs of rupees which were spent on famine relief (alluding to the famine arrears of £. 342,500 due from the Punjab). Could there be a greater injustice than this? They should combine and act together, otherwise Government would impoverish them completely.

Again another *Updeshak* Harbans Singh of Atari predicted to his audience: "Guru Gobind Singh will again come into the world and shall fight with the foreigners and save his people." Similarly at a Khalsa Diwan meeting in May 1910, *Updeshak* Labh Singh urged the Sikhs "to unite and sacrifice their lives as did the Gurus." At the annual meeting of the Kohat Singh Sabha, a female Sikh preacher told an audience of Sikh women, 'not to teach their children English or to allow them to enter Government service.' She said, 'They should be taught national professions and Gurumukhi, so that they can read from the *Granth*. The Christians, like Aurengzeb, are destroying the Sikh religion.'¹³

In spite of the fact that in such Diwans there were frequent references to oppression, national unity, sacrifice of life for the nation, freedom by sword, it was difficult for the English to take any action against these *Updeshaks* as such subjects were inextricably intermingled with social, educational and religious topics. Whenever confronted with charge of inciting the people, these *Updeshaks* would invariably suggest that they were working purely for the conservation of the Sikh faith.

Another factor which helped the neo-Sikhs to infuse political consciousness among the Sikhs was the foundation of the Khalsa College, Amritsar. Though established under government patronage, with the intention of spreading English education among the Sikhs,

12 Weekly report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, 25 September, 1909 (Home Department, Political B Proceedings, October 1909, 110-117).

13 *Secret Memorandum*, p. 14.

it soon became a centre for imparting national feelings among the students. Teachers like Professor Jodh Singh, Nihal Singh, Sunder Singh, Narayan Singh, Hari Singh Chima and Jagannath instilled anti-British feelings in the minds of pupils. They often drew their attention to the degraded state of the Sikhs, their past glory, the benefits of unity and sacrifice for the nation. The practical effect of these teachings was visible when on two different occasions the students held anti-British demonstrations before the European officers who visited the College in 1907. The same year when Gopal Krishna Gokhale visited Amritsar, he was accorded a most enthusiastic reception by the Khalsa College students. Paying respects to the great leader, the students unyoked the horses and dragged his carriage to the College, where *Granth Sahib* was especially removed from the *Gurdwara* to enable him to lecture. The sacred *Nishan Sahib* (Sikh emblem of victory) was also said to have been taken from the temple and carried in front of Gokhale's carriage.¹⁴

This new trend in the College affairs unnerved the English who tried to curb these patriotic feelings among the students by reconstituting the managing committee of the College in 1908 with strict official control. Yet the fire of freedom could not be extinguished. The sentiments expressed by a Khalsa College student, who fell ill and died at a Conference in 1910, amazed all those who were present. Just before dying the young boy declared:¹⁵

I am not afraid to die. All life is sacrifice. ~~If I had~~ been allowed to live I must have done great things by sacrifice. Until the nation realizes that lives must be sacrificed, it will never come to anything.

Again in March, 1911, when a new European Principal was appointed, the students of the College attacked him and pasted insulting handbills on the College walls and on the doors of the Principal's residence.¹⁶

Government interference in the Khalsa College created much resentment among the Sikhs. Harbans Singh of Atari resigned from the reconstituted managing committee of the College¹⁷. Another

14 *Ibid.* p. 17.

15 *Ibid.* p. 18.

16 *Ibid.* p. 17.

17 *The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening* (Jullundur, 1922), p. 49.

Master Sunder Singh, a dismissed teacher from the Khalsa School, published an anti-British pamphlet entitled '*Ki Khalsa Kalaj Sikhān da Hai*' and wrote that it was no longer in the hands of the Sikhs and suggested that the College had fraudulently been taken over by the Government in the same way as the Punjab was annexed from Maharaja Dalip Singh.¹⁸ Realising the need to have their educational institutions independent of the official control, the leading Sikhs of the day founded in 1808 the Sikh Educational Conference, a body devoted to the promotion and encouragement of national education in the community. Henceforth it held annual meetings to propagate Sikhism and to raise funds for the establishment of new schools and colleges.

Though declared to be a non-political institution, these annual conferences, attended by Sikhs in large numbers, gave the neo-Sikhs another opportunity to spread their view-point. *Updeshak* Jagat Singh, for instance, often displayed a series of pictorial broadsheets dealing with the lives of the Sikh saints, female education, etc. The meaning was conveyed by closely grouping masses of woodcuts mostly representing scenes of a historical or allegorical nature with quotations from the Sikh scriptures. Representing the Sikh religion and the martial tradition of the Khalsa, these broadsheets were often intended to inflame the military pride of the Sikhs. For example, in the third Educational Conference held at Amritsar in 1910, one of the sheets represented a Sikh heroine, well known in history, grafting a tree which was flowering with the past great doings of the Sikhs and their Gurus. It depicted a picture showing the ninth Guru in a cage and an early Sikh martyr, Bhai Mati Das, having his head sawn asunder. Conveying the impression that the British rule was equally galling and oppressive, in close juxtaposition to this was shown another woodcut of a globe being borne away on the wings of a bird which carried the inscription:¹⁹

*'Kal Kati Raje Kasai,
Dharm Pankh kar ud reha.'*

(This age [Kaliyug] is a knife, kings are butchers; dharma has taken wings and fled.)

Making an appeal to the Sikhs, Jagat Singh, the author of this

¹⁸ Weekly report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, 11 September, 1909 (Home Department, Political B Proceedings, October 1909, 110-117).

¹⁹ *Secret Memorandum*, p. 49.

broadsheet. introduced the following couplet at the bottom of the picture:²⁰

*Bharat de Viro, sadi Lewana sar vo,
Jugre beete, sanu dita visar vo.'*

(Oh valiant sons of India, come to our rescue. You have not come for long, as if you have forgotten us).

Then in the same picture, pointing a reference to Mai Bhago—a renowned Sikh lady who fought against the Mughals in the battle of Khidrana—the author suggested the historical remedy for eradicating the oppression, tyranny and foreign domination by force; and quoted from the *Guru Granth*:²¹

*'Sura so pahachanie jo lare din ke het,
Purza purza kat mare, kabhun na chhade khet.*

(He alone is to be known as the hero who fights for the cause of his religion, who though cut to pieces does not leave the battle field.)

Again in a speech in the same Conference, Professor Jodh Singh condemned government service and the government system of education and said:²²

Even a sweeper should be given *pahul*, and that if the Sikhs were to unite and take the direction of their educational affairs into their own hands, the result would be '*Wahguru ji ka Khalsa, Sri Wahguru ji ki Fateh*' (the Sikh national greetings), or in other words, that the Sikhs would be all in all.

Various publications that appeared during the period in connection with the Sikh revival also aimed at unifying the Sikh nation and arousing in them the martial instincts of the Khalsa. In such writings the accounts of the brave deeds done and the sacrifices made by the earlier Sikhs were narrated. *Chamakde Lal* or *Hari Singh Nalwa* and *Daler Kaur* were two such books that appeared in 1910 and 1911 respectively. The heroic deeds and the self-sacrificing qualities of brave persons were highlighted for the Sikhs to follow. *Jathebandi* by Professor Jodh Singh appealed for unity among the Sikhs and the

20 *ibid.*

21 *ibid.*

22 *ibid.* 19.

Sachchi Yaqdar which appeared on the birthday anniversary of Gobind Singh reminded the Sikhs that the true memorial to the great Guru was²³

to make a brave and victorious nation out of the dead and thus save the country from being carried away by the flood which has now invaded it. The country has suffered many vicissitudes which the pen finds it difficult to enumerate. The Sikhs have been watching many anxious nights so that this burden may be lifted from the country. What Guru Gobind Singh's sword did with Aurangzeb, you should also do today. Say, why you are frightened? You have neither house nor power nor strength. Even your religion is paying impost. A thick and dark cloud of tyranny has spread over the country.

Apart from these activities of the neo-Sikh movement, the remarkable advance in the political life and thought in the country during this period strengthened Sikh hostility against the English. The speeches and the printed literature of Ajit Singh, the famous revolutionary, greatly influenced the Sikhs. The three weeklies, the *Khalsa Advocate* in English, the *Khalsa Samachar* and the *Khalsa Sewak* in Gurumukhi, also showed sympathy with the Sikh political agitation. For instance, the *Khalsa Samachar* of 23rd December, 1908, carried an article in praise of Guru Gobind Singh in which he was hailed as:²⁴

expeller of tyranny and injustice, helper of the poor and oppressed, protector of religion and releaser of prisoners, founder of the Khalsa and maker of the braves, infuser of new life into the dead, expeller of darkness, pointer of the way of God.

Addressing the Sikhs the writer proceeded :

Have you forgotten the depressed and fallen state of Bharat. You saved Bharat from trouble and sacrificed your lives. Oh brave Sikhs, arise ! Think of those who sacrificed their lives in dispelling trouble from this country. Remember their deeds and thus bring yourselves to your

23 *Ibid.* 15.

24 Weekly report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, 9 January, 1909 (Home Department, Political B Proceedings, February 1909, 2-11).

proper senses. Show yourselves how you can walk in their footsteps. At least you are the sons of the same father. There are three things, first Unity, second Patriotism, and third Education. At one time you swayed the flag of bravery, now get hold of the flag of knowledge. Guru Gobind Singh sacrificed his life for the sake of his religion. Today on account of his birthday you also must sacrifice something. He made you lions from jackals and lifted up his flag by fighting against the tyrants.

In addition, there appeared two Gurumukhi newspapers during 1909. One was the *Prem* of Ferozepur and the other the *Sacha Dhandora* of Lyallpur. Both these prints largely echo the violently nationalistic writings. While the *Prem* contemplated to render into Gurumukhi a series of books and pamphlets which emanated from Ajit Singh and the Bharat Mata group of Lahore, *Sacha Dhandora* often carried patriotic articles. In one such article, which was published in its issue of 17thth September, 1909, the writer eulogised the sacrifices made by the Sikh Gurus and wrote:²⁵

. These examples show us what should be our fixed programme. If there be no injustice (tyranny or oppression), then the Sikh according to his religion is to do nothing, but if injustice increases, then it is the religious duty of the Sikhs to speak against it fearlessly and bear the consequences with courage.

The idea of freedom from the British had thus made a considerable advance by the first decade of the present century. It still retained overtones of a religious feeling and regional culture continued to provide inspiration, and substance. But along with this the growth of a secular nationalism, embracing the whole of the country, was progressively becoming a force in the land. The political consciousness in the Punjab was also beginning to get submerged into the wider national awareness.

25 Weekly report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, 4 October, 1909 (Home Department, Political B Proceedings, November 1909, 32-41).

SECRET C.I.D. MEMORANDUM
ON
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SIKH POLITICS
1911

BY
D. PETRIE
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INTRODUCTION

This memorandum represents a most earnest effort to interpret in a readable form the masses of information on our records in connection with modern developments of Sikh developments and politics. In the concluding paragraph Mr. Petrie has disclaimed infallibility and permanence for the conclusions to which his labours have led him. Before the memorandum assumed its final shape a number of prominent Sikh gentlemen and experienced Government officials were consulted and their opinions have corroborated in a remarkable degree the deductions drawn with great patience and ability by Mr. Petrie. An officer of special experience and qualifications has written of the memorandum in the following terms: "The note is an interesting and correct synopsis of our information about the present attitude of the Sikhs. But, as Mr. Petrie points out, political conditions in the Punjab are extraordinarily fluctuating, and the apparent aims of a party today may be entirely changed tomorrow."

It is desirable to add that Mr. Petrie, as the result of his numerous interviews with prominent Sikhs, is afraid that he may have laid somewhat too much stress on the political nature of the *Tat Khalsa* movement which in its general nature and spirit may perhaps be less political and anti-British than the writings, speeches and acts of its most zealous exponents seemed to suggest. But in any case this movement seems to contain the germs of strong development on the political side and to deserve very careful study and observation.

The Sikhs are, for many reasons, of special interest to everybody engaged in maintaining British rule in India. Their modern developments are specially difficult to understand and appraise aright. On the one hand we have to avoid overweening confidence and on the other undue suspicion. The exact point at which the Sikhs require guidance, stimulation or restraint from Government in their efforts to improve themselves calls not only for statesmanship but for information and knowledge. These considerations led me to direct Mr. Petrie to undertake the task which, in my opinion, the present memorandum shows that he has fulfilled most satisfactorily and creditably.

DELHI,
The 16th October, 1911.

C. R. Cleveland,
Director of Criminal Intelligence.

SECRET

Recent Developments in Sikh Politics

1. To a correct understanding of the present nature and trend of Sikh political activities a brief consideration of the peculiar position occupied by Sikhism is not only relevant but even necessary. The Sikh religion was founded by Baba Nanak, the first of the ten Sikh Gurus, who was born in the Lahore district and flourished about 1500 A.D.¹ Sikhism, like Buddhism, was inspired by a spirit of revolt against the ceremonial and social restrictions of the Hindu religion, as well as against the bigotry and arrogance of its hereditary priesthood, the Brahmans. The religion of Nanak was essentially quiescent and non-aggressive. He taught that there was one God, who was neither the God of the Hindu nor of the Mahomedan, but was the God of the Universe, and that all men were equal in his sight; he rejected the authority of the Brahmans, their incantations and sacrifices, holding that salvation was to be obtained by uprightness and purity of life rather than by a rigid, pharisaical observance of unintelligible and superstitious rites. The doctrine of Nanak was thus in many respects essentially unlike the teachings of the tenth and last Sikh Guru, Govind Singh.²

2. Nanak died in 1539 and was succeeded by Angad the second Guru. The new religion ran an uneventful course until the succession of the fifth Guru, Arjun, who attained the spiritual leadership of the Sikhs in 1581. Arjun first gave the Sikhs their scriptures in the shape of the *Adi Granth*, and also a common rallying point in Amritsar, which he made his religious centre. He also was the first to introduce

Notes with star, dagger (*, †), etc., belong to the original text, while those with numerical indications are added by the editor.

1. Guru Nanak was born in 1469 and died in 1539 A.D.
2. There is no fundamental difference in the religious doctrines of Guru Govind Singh and Guru Nanak. Guru Govind Singh only reorganised the community into the *Khalsa*, with *Khande di Pahul* as the baptismal ceremony and the distinguishing symbols known as the five *Ks*.

a regular organisation of the Sikhs by reducing their voluntary contributions to a systematic levy. Though embroiled himself with the Emperor Jehangir, he was summoned to Lahore where a rigorous imprisonment hastened, if it did not actually cause, his death.³ The arrest of Arjun inaugurated that Mahomedan persecution which was the turning point in Sikh history, and from that time onward Sikhism was perpetually in conflict with the Islamic power and religion. Har Govind, the successor of Arjun, was a warrior and political leader. Though essentially a mercenary and prepared to fight for or against the Moghul as convenience or profit dictated,⁴ yet from the fact that most of his forays were against the Mahomedans, the Guru came to be regarded as a champion by the downtrodden Hindus, while his camp grew to be the rallying-point of free lances and adventurers. The policy of Har Govind was continued by his two successors and under Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Guru, the Sikhs, while constantly growing in power, so far degenerated into mere marauders and disturbers of the peace as to constitute a menace to the prosperity of the country. After the inevitable conflict with the Islamic troops, Tegh Bahadur, as an infidel, a robber and a rebel,⁵ was executed at Delhi by the Moghul authorities,

3. From Emperor Jehangir's own observations in his autobiographical memoirs, the *Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri*, and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's letter No. 193 in the *Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani*, Vol. III-i, pp. 95-96, it is clear that the Guru was executed by the Emperor's order, evidently, instigated by the Muslim revivalists, for his increasing religious popularity among the Hindus and Muslims who were attracted to him in large numbers. The visit of Prince Khusrau to the Guru during his rebellious flight to the Punjab and his partaking of food in the Guru's *langar* were only a pretence for the arrest of the Guru. For a more detailed study of the subject, the inquisitive reader is referred to Ganda Singh's *Guru Arjun's Martyrdom Re-interpreted*, pub. Guru Nanak Mission, Patiala, 1969.
4. There is nothing on record to show that Guru Hargobind ever acted as a mercenary for convenience or profit. The contemporary account of the life of Guru Hargobind given in the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* by Mobid Zulfiqar Ardistani, who was personally known to the Guru and was present at the time of his death at Kiratpur, bears witness to this. See *Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. 1, part 1, for April 1967, pp. 47-71.
5. This seems to be based on the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* of Ghulam Husain Khan whose account of the Sikhs and their Gurus is full of prejudice, and his allegations against Guru Tegh Bahadur are baseless. The Guru travelled in the southern parts of the Panjab on a visit to the Sikh congregations who not unoften made usual offerings to him. It is a well known fact of history

[Continued on page 304.]

having first appointed his son, Govind Rai, as his successor and having enjoined on him the necessity and the merit of a revenge.

3. Govind Rai was only 15 years⁶ of age at the time of his father's death and for some years subsequently he appears to have remained inactive, brooding over his wrongs and devising measures for the accomplishment of his mission against the Mahomedans. Emerging from his retirement he preached the doctrine of the Khalsa, the faith of the 'pure', the 'elect.' Admission to this sect was gained by the baptismal ceremony of the *Pahul** and its military nature was marked by the bestowal of the title of *Singh* or 'lion' on all who entered it. In addition to the wearing of the five Ks,† which are the outward and visible symbols of Sikhism, the Guru taught his followers that they must practise arms and never show their backs to the foe in battle. He preached the democratic doctrine of equality with even less reservation than Nanak himself, and enjoined on his Sikhs that they were to consider themselves members of one family and that previous caste distinctions were erased. But religious fervour was entirely eclipsed by military zeal, and thus "a religion became a political power, and for the first time in India a nation arose, embracing all races, all classes, and all grades of society, and banded them together in face of a foreign foe" (Ibbetson).

4. The life of Govind Singh, as he must now be called, is an

Continued from page 303]

that he was ordered to be executed for his supporting the cause of oppressed Hindus of Kashmir.

Bamzai tells us in his *History of Kashmir*: "Iftikar Khan (1671-75) tyrannized over the Brahmans to such an extent that they approached Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru at Anandpur in the Punjab, and solicited his personal intervention with the emperor. This ultimately led to the Guru's martyrdom, ..." p. 371.

6. Born in 1666 A.D., Guru Govind Singh was only nine years old at the time of his father's death in 1675.

* The essence of the ceremony is the drinking in the presence of five believers of a mixture of sugar and water which has been stirred with a steel dagger; the baptismal fluid is known as amrit.

† The five *Kakkas* are (1) the *Kesh* or uncut hair; (2) the *Kachh* or short drawers; (3) the *Kara* or iron bangle; (4) *Kirpan* or steel dagger; and (5) the *Kanga* or comb.

almost unbroken record of petty wars, some times with the Rajput Hill Chiefs but more often with the Mahomedans. Being eventually defeated he was compelled to flee the country, most of his family and entourage having been either slain in battle or put to death by their conquerors. Govind Singh, who died in 1708, was the last, as he was the greatest, Guru of the Sikhs, and though he did not live to see his ends accomplished, he had effectually aroused the spirit of his people and left on it the impress of his own military ambitions. After his death his feud with the Moghuls was conducted for some time by one of his disciples named Banda,⁷ who met with some temporary success but was eventually defeated and put to death by torture. Thereafter there ensued a period of terrible and sanguinary persecution, but with the gradual breaking up of the Moghul power, the Sikhs revived and, banding themselves together, soon overran the whole plain country in the Punjab. By the beginning of the 19th century the various Sikh confederacies were united under Ranjit Singh who pushed his conquests as far as Kangra and Kashmir. The history of the Punjab under Ranjit Singh is too well-known to need recapitulation, and is also unnecessary to allude to the sequence of events which resulted in the Sikh power being brought into contact with and humbled by the British.

5. After the conquest of the Punjab, the popularity of Sikhism began sensibly to wane. The Sikh, though born of a Sikh father, is not counted a Sikh until he has received the baptism of the *Pahul*, and the supply of candidates for baptism is apt to vary directly with the popular estimate of the advantages to be derived from joining the community. From the time of Govind Singh onwards, and especially during the period of Ranjit Singh's reign, spiritual fervour, national pride and anti-Islamic fanaticism operated powerfully to swell the numbers of those who embraced the Sikh faith. With the annexation of the Punjab Sikhism lost much of its old popularity and its members, un-
 certain of the attitude of their new masters, refrained from bringing up their sons for baptism. The Mutiny, in that it identified the Sikhs with the suppression of a movement having as its ostensible object the

Decay of Sikhism
after the British
conquest

7. The Sikh leader, popularly known as Banda, was a baptised *Singh* and was named Banda Singh. See Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, pp. 14-19; *Ibid.* (Panjabí), pp. 19-21.

restoration of the Mahomedan power, produced an immediate revival, and the name of Sikh became once again a title of honour and the door to military service and honourable advancement. On the conclusion of the Mutiny and with the disappearance of the wars and tumults which had fostered the growth of Sikhism, reaction again became visible. The younger generations began to find the restrictions imposed by their religion irksome, and there were no longer raids, looting or reprisals to compensate for the austerities entailed by the observance of religious formalities. As a natural consequence there has been a considerable relapse of Sikhism into the Hinduism from which it sprung. By the performance of a few expiatory rites, the payment of a certain sum of money to Brahmans, and the disuse of the military surname, the Sikh reverts as a Jat peasant into the ordinary Hindu community.

6. But it must not be imagined that the decay of Sikhism is purely fortuitous or dependent on mere circumstances. Hinduism has always been hostile to Sikhism whose Gurus powerfully and successfully attacked the principle of caste which is the foundation on which the whole fabric of the Brahmanical religion has been reared.

The activities of Hindus have, therefore, been constantly directed to the undermining of Sikhism both by preventing the children of Sikh fathers from taking the *Pahul* and by seducing professed Sikhs from their allegiance to their faith. Hinduism has strangled Buddhism, once a formidable rival to it, and it has already made serious inroads on the domains of Sikhism. The movement to declare the Sikhs Hindus, though widespread and of long duration, is, according to Macauliffe, "in direct opposition to the teachings of the Gurus." Nevertheless it incidentally receives support from certain of those who profess themselves Sikhs. Besides the *Singhs* or followers of the tenth Guru, there is the important class of *Nanak Panthi* or *Sahijdhari* Sikhs, who, while following the faith, of Nanak, have not thought it incumbent on them to adopt the ceremonial and social observances of Govind Singh, who does not observe the five Ks. and who do not, even in theory, reject the authority of the Brahmans.

Again many *Sodhi* and *Bedi** Sikhs have never been able to bring themselves to resign the quasi-sacerdotal position and privileges which

* Sub-sections of Khatri; Nanak was a Bedi, and the Gurus from the fourth onwards were Sodhis.

attach to them as members of the class (Khatris), which gave the Sikhs most of their Gurus, and has given them a priesthood also in so far as the Sikhs can be said to have one. Such spiritual leaders number among their followers not only *Sahijdharis* and *Singhs* indiscriminately, but also many pure Hindus, some of whom, apparently out of deference to the religious tenets of their leaders, wear their hair long and outwardly appear to be Sikhs, though they cannot be classed with any precision either as Sikhs or as Hindus. There is thus a considerable body of Sikhs between whom and Hindus a dividing line is far from clearly demarcated, and who, if they have not actually accepted, have never been at any pains to repudiate, the contention that the Sikhs are part and parcel of the Hindu nation. As lately as October 1910, Baba Gurbakhsh Singh Bedi, of Kallar, Rawalpindi, was prevailed upon to accept the office of President of the second Hindu Conference at Multan, an organisation which is controlled by a purely Hindu agency, and which has for one of its avowed objects the drawing together of the different component elements of the Hindu nation; and of these elements it claims Sikhism to be one. The Baba is a professed Sikh, yet from the presidential chair he made a public pronouncement to the effect that Sikhs and Hindus were one and the same and that the Sikhs were merely a section of the Hindu nation. The Baba was severely taken to task but many Singh Sabhas all over the country, which are supported chiefly by such Sikhs as adhere to the faith and ceremonial of the tenth Guru, and who maintain that the Sikhs are a distinct nation from the Hindus; but the disintegrating effect of such a pronouncement cannot be overlooked. Hinduism owing to its wonderfully assimilative character has thus re-absorbed a good part of Sikhism, as it has absorbed Buddhism before it, notwithstanding that much of these religions is opposed to caste and the supremacy of the Brahmans. More recently, the militant Hindu sect, known as the Arya Samaj, has not been content, like orthodox Hindus, to trust to the slow process of time, but has carried war into the Sikhs domains by "reclaiming" certain low-classes who are socially inferior to the rank and file of the Khalsa, but who are unquestionably Sikh by tradition and religion.

7. It has become clear that there are in the Sikh community two sections which are pulling in totally different directions. The first of these sections is that which favours, or at any rate views with indifference, the re-absorption of the Sikhs into Hinduism, and which

The Pro-Hindu and the Orthodox Sikh Parties has the powerful support of the Hindu community, both orthodox and progressive. The second is that which maintains that there is a distinct line of cleavage between Hinduism and Sikhism and devotes itself to maintaining the Sikh faith in its original purity. This latter party has the support of the best authorities in claiming that it is the champion of orthodoxy, and it has set itself jealously to watch and oppose Hindu, and more particularly Arya aggression.

8. In spite of the efforts of the orthodox Sikh party to prevent abuses from creeping into their religion, it is doubtful whether many of the so-called "orthodox" Sikhs of the present day are entitled to call themselves such, if judged strictly by the articles of faith of the tenth Guru. The Sikh Gurus attacked caste distinctions and the authority of the priesthood. "Orthodox" Sikhs, however, still refuse to mingle with "Mazhabis", "Ramdasias" and other low classes who are theoretically their social equals. Again they are brought into the world, married and buried by Brahmans whose authority and influence their Gurus are at one in repudiating; and they flock in thousands to Hardwar and other Hindu places of pilgrimage though this is repugnant to all the teachings of their Scriptures. The ritual of the Golden Temple is considerably tinged with Hinduism and idolatrous practice, and it is not going too far to say that the impress of Hinduism, will be found to be borne by the faith of all those who are popularly regarded as "orthodox" Sikhs at the present time, whether in the army or out of it. This is a fact that must be kept clearly in mind when we come later to examine the position of the *Tat Khalsa* party (in its new or political sense) which claims that it alone should be regarded as the embodiment of Sikh orthodoxy at the present time, and which is the chief factor in what is known as the Sikh "revival."

9. It has already been seen how the teachings of Govind Singh sufficed to weld the members of a quiescent religious order into a warlike and politically ambitious nation. The peculiar value of the Sikh faith in imbuing its followers with a military spirit is generally admitted, and the history of the Sikh Mazhabi regiments conclusively proves that the teachings of the Guru have had the magical effect of transforming even pariahs and outcasts through an interminable line of heredity into brave and staunch soldiers. The soldierly

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qualities of the Sikhs have been fittingly recognised in the extent to which they have been employed in the Indian Army, in which at present they number roughly 33 thousand out of 174 thousand, or somewhat less than one-fifth of the total strength. At the present time one of the principal agencies for the preservation of the Sikh religion has been the practice of military officers commanding Sikh regiments to send Sikh recruits to receive baptism according to the rites prescribed by Guru Govind Singh. Sikh soldiers, too, are required to adhere rigidly to Sikh customs and ceremonial and every endeavour has been made to preserve them from the contagion of idolatry. Sikhs in the Indian Army have been studiously "nationalised" or encouraged to regard themselves as a totally distinct and separate nation; their national pride has been fostered by every available means and the *Granth Sahib* or Sikh scriptures are saluted by British officers of Sikh regiments. The reason of this policy is not far to seek. With his relapse into Hinduism and re-adoption of its superstitions and vicious social customs, it is notorious that the Sikh loses much of his martial instincts and greatly deteriorates as a fighting machine. Macauliffe, in alluding to the fact that loyalty to the British is enjoined by various prophecies in Sikh Holy Writ, considers that "it is such prophecies as these, combined with the monotheism, the absence of superstition and restraint in the matter of food, which have made the Sikhs among the bravest, the most loyal and devoted subjects of the British Crown." Later, in describing the pernicious effects of the upbringing of Sikh youths in a Hindu atmosphere, Macauliffe writes: "such youths are ignorant of the Sikh religion and of its prophecies in favour of the English and contract exclusive social customs and prejudices to the extent of calling us *Malechhas* or persons of impure desires, and inspiring disgust for the customs and habits of Christians." It will thus be seen that the policy pursued in the Indian Army has been directed, and rightly directed, to the maintenance of the Sikh faith in its pristine purity, for the reason that any falling off from orthodoxy not only detracts from the fighting value of the Sikh soldier, but inevitably tends at the same time to affect adversely his whole attitude to the British power. The good services of the Army in buttressing the crumbling edifice of the Sikh religion have been freely acknowledged by orthodox Sikhs, and it will now be necessary to consider the institutions the Sikhs themselves have established in their endeavours to maintain their separate national individuality.

10. The first Singh Sabha or society was established at Amritsar in 1873. Owing to its President and Secretary having tried to secure absolute control of the society, the more disinterested members broke away and established another Singh Sabha in Lahore. The objects of the Lahore branch were to interpret more truly the teachings of the *Adi Granth* and other sacred books, and to demolish false doctrines and improper customs, which may be said to be the avowed objects of the Singh Sabhas everywhere. The Lahore Sabha grew and prospered and in 1881 it rendered assistance to Government in the census, which was duly acknowledged. The Singh Sabhas and the Lahore and Amritsar Khalsa Diwan. In the same year Sir Robert Egerton, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, accepted the office of Patron of the Lahore Sabha, an honour which has been shown to it by every successive Lieutenant-Governor. In 1883 the Amritsar Sabha, which had suffered considerably from the secession of the founders of the Lahore Branch, was re-established, and, several new Sabhas having sprung up, it was deemed advisable to have a central controlling body. In pursuance of this object the Khalsa Diwan was founded at Amritsar in 1883, but no rules were drawn up for the conduct of business and the Lahore Sabha refused to acknowledge it until this was done. The Khalsa Diwan at the time of its founding embraced some 36 or 37 Singh Sabhas. At a meeting of the Khalsa Diwan held in Amritsar, in 1883, Baba Khem Singh of Kallar, father of Baba Gurbakhsh Singh mentioned in paragraph 6 and President of the newly formed Diwan, proposed that the title of the Singh Sabhas, be changed to Sikh Singh Sabhas, the object being to include his *Sahjdhari* Sikh and Hindu following; but in the following April the proposal was negatived. The Raja of Faridkot had meanwhile agreed to become Patron of the Khalsa Diwan, and at a meeting held in October 1884 a set of draft rules and regulations for the conduct of business, framed by Bhai Gurmukh Singh, was brought up for discussion. This Gurmukh Singh was a Professor in the Oriental College at Lahore and became Chief Secretary of the Khalsa Diwan. The newly constituted body was far from making an auspicious start, and it was torn from the very beginning of its existence by internal wranglings and dissensions. The Raja of Faridkot seemed to desire permanent temporal power over the Diwan and endeavoured to bring all the Sikh societies under his control; while Baba Khem Singh wished his authority to be regarded as paramount and absolute in religious matters and himself to be

looked upon as the fifteenth Guru in succession from Nanak. The Raja and the Baba, annoyed to find that their desires were not met by the majority of the members, resolved to work together and for some time took it upon themselves to speak and act on behalf of the Sikh community. Further complications ensued when Bhai Gurmukh Singh wished to exclude from the Khalsa Diwan one Baba Nihal Singh who had written an offensive book, entitled *Khurshaid-i-Khalsa*, which dealt in an objectionable manner with the British occupation of the Punjab. Little would be gained by following the subsequent quarrels and bickerings but Nihal Singh though he had the support of both the Raja of Faridkot and Bhai Khem Singh, was eventually expelled by Gurmukh Singh, whom the Raja and the Baba managed to exclude in turn. The quarrel resulted in the splitting up of the Diwan into two sections known as the Lahore and Amritsar parties. The former was headed by Bhai Gurmukh Singh and had the support of the great majority of the Singh Sabhas of the Province, as well as comprising among its members the younger, better educated and more progressive members of the Sikh community. The Amritsar party was headed by the Raja of Faridkot and Baba Khem Singh, supported only by the Amritsar, Faridkot and Rawalpindi Sabhas.

11. From the year 1887 onwards the Lahore and Amritsar Diwans existed as separate and distinct societies, neither of them being able to claim to represent the Sikhs as a body. The Raja of Faridkot's party had a greater command of money and enjoyed several traditional advantages from the relationships which existed between it and certain notables who flourished in the days of Ranjit Singh, on the other hand the Lahore party was larger in point of members and stronger as regards educational attainments and general ability. The Lahore Diwan may thus be regarded as the real Sikh representative body of the time, and as such it presented several addresses to various Viceroys and high officials on behalf of the whole Sikh community. Its leading spirits were Bhai Gurmukh Singh, already mentioned, and Bhai Jowahir Singh of the North Western Railway Manager's Office, and the energy of these two men seems to have made the Lahore Diwan the dominating factor in contemporary political and religious movements among the Sikhs. It was owing to the exertions of the Lahore Diwan that the long discussed scheme for a Sikh National Educational Institution at length took practical shape in the founding at Amritsar in 1892 of the Khalsa College, the objects

and history of which it will presently be necessary to allude to in greater detail. During the earlier years of its existence the Khalsa College was managed by an Executive Committee drawn from its Council, of which body Bhai Jowahir Singh was Secretary, but after the death of Gurmukh Singh, Jowahir Singh seems to have been unable to retain his hold on the post, which passed into the hands of Sunder Singh Majithia of Amritsar. Sunder Singh had likewise gained the favour of the Raja of Nabha and Sir Attar Singh of Bhadaur, both of whom had previously supported the Lahore Diwan. With the loss of its leaders, the Lahore party seems to have gone steadily down-hill and the power and influence to have centered more and more in the Amritsar party, controlled by Sirdar Sunder Singh. The Sikhs generally, too, were coming to recognise that their communal interests were but little advanced by dissension and disunion. Accordingly at a special meeting of the Amritsar Singh Sabha, which was held in November 1901 and attended by influential Sikhs from all over the Punjab, it was decided that the Amritsar Branch was in future to be considered the ruling one in the Society and that leading Sikhs from Amritsar and elsewhere be invited to join; it was further decided to consult with the Lahore Branch and make known the results in the following February. The result of the meeting was the Chief Khalsa Diwan which was founded at Amritsar in 1902, and of which the first Secretary was Sirdar Sunder Singh Majithia, the first President Bhai Arjan Singh of Bagrian, Ludhiana. The ostensible objects of the Diwan are religious and secular instruction, the reformation and improvement of the Sikh community and the representation of its needs to Government. In pursuance of these objects it supports an orphanage, a Khalsa Tract Society, an Updeshak Vidyalyaya or preachers' school, and also maintains a regular staff of paid itinerant preachers. The Chief Khalsa Diwan is thus a sort of central controlling Agency for the management of the numerous Sabhas which exist all over the country wherever there is a large body of Sikhs. Its influence is considerable in all regiments of the Indian Army which enlist Sikhs, and such regiments are visited from time to time by the Diwan's Updeshaks. It is thus not only the self-constituted leader and spokesman of the Sikhs in all social and political matters, but also it is able, through its organisations of preachers, to wield in spiritual matters a degree of influence which should not properly pertain to it. The supporters of the Chief Khalsa Diwan form essentially what is dubbed

by Hindus the "Separatist" party among the Sikhs; that is, they dissociate Sikhs from Hindus, discourage the employment of Brahmans at Sikh social and religious ceremonies, and generally endeavour to keep their religion pure from the thralldom and grossness of Hinduism and its priesthood. In so far as they serve to arrest the decay of orthodox Sikhism the objects of the Chief Khalsa Diwan are in every way commendable; but latterly, as will presently appear, the zeal of the Diwan for the cause of Sikh nationality has outrun its discretion and led it to embark on a programme of social and religious reform which is acceptable neither to Sikh laymen of the orthodox school nor to the religious authorities at the Amritsar Golden Temple.

12. The same instinct of communal self-preservation, which led orthodox Sikhs to establish Singh Sabhas and Khalsa Diwans, was responsible also for the foundation of the Sikh national educational institution known as the Khalsa College. The Sikhs have long been alive to the fact that not only are they backward in education as a community but also that their youth, if left to be reared by teachers of other denominations, are exposed to many influences which are hostile to their traditional habits and character. The Khalsa College was thus founded not more with the idea of making good educational deficiencies than of ensuring that Sikh youths should be reared in a genuinely Sikh atmosphere and receive such moral and religious instruction as would mould them into true Sikhs and loyal citizens. Efforts were made to establish a college as far back as 1883, but proved abortive owing to friction among the workers. At length in 1889 the Lahore Khalsa Diwan managed to achieve some appreciable progress and in the following year the movement was handed over to a body of gentlemen headed by Colonel Holroyd and Mr. Bell, afterwards Director of Public Instruction, Punjab. The scheme was warmly supported by the authorities and subscriptions were received from the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Lyall; Lord Lansdowne moreover accepted the patronship of the Institution. Permission was also accorded to the collection of voluntary subscriptions from Sikh regiments. The original donations by the help of which the College was started amounted to five and a half lakh of rupees, of which more than four and a half lakh were subscribed by the Chiefs and people of the various Sikh States. The foundation stone was laid by Sir James Lyall in March 1892, and the

newly founded College was managed in the first instance by an Executive Committee of 32 members selected by the Council, which was the supreme controlling body. This Committee was found by experience to be too cumbrous for successful working, and was eventually replaced by a smaller Managing Committee of 9 members. Later the financial position of the College became very insecure and in order to place it on a proper footing, a special effort was made at the instance of the Punjab Government in the spring of 1904, with the result that further donations were made, including some 13 or 14 lakhs from the States and half a lakh from Government. With the help of these resources the number of students was largely increased and plans were started for considerable improvements and extensions of the buildings and the staff. In February 1907, the College was inspected by a Committee appointed by the Punjab University and as a result was called on to rectify certain defects in its internal administration and financial status, under pain of disaffiliation. In the meantime the students were guilty of two separate demonstrations of rudeness and hostility towards two European Officers who had occasion to visit the College. Strong representations were received by Government from the Sikh States, asking it to intervene and put an end to the flagrant mismanagement which had been shown to exist. The result was the withdrawal by the States of payment of the interest of their promised donations, the President, Mr. Rattigan, resigned his post, and it became clear that if the contributions of the States were to be retained and the College was to be placed on a proper footing administratively and financially, a considerable change in its management would have to be effected. The whole question was considered by a small Committee appointed by Government and eventually in 1908 the old regime was abolished and some element of Government control was introduced into the management of the institution. The new Council is composed of 58 members, of whom 26 are drawn from British Districts, 25 from the Sikh States, 5 are Government nominees and 2 are elected by Sikh graduates. The Government nominees are (1) the Commissioner of the Lahore Division; (2) the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar; (3) the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab; (4) the Political Agent, Phulkian States; and (5) the Principal of the Khalsa College. The management of the College and its property is vested in a Managing Committee composed of 15 members, of whom 6 are elected by the States, 6 by British Districts and 3 are Govern-

ment nominees. The last-named members of the Managing Committee are the Commissioner of Lahore, the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar and the Director of Public Instruction, the two first mentioned being respectively Chairman and Vice-Chairman. The Commissioner is also President of the Council. The College receives from the Punjab Government an annual grant of Rs. 10,000 for five years commencing from 1908, on condition that the statutes and the constitution of the managing bodies are maintained in accordance with the wishes of Government.

Whatever improvements the presence of British officials in its managing body may have effected in the administration of the Khalsa College, the tone of the institution has if anything deteriorated since the change was effected. It will be necessary later on to discuss the tone of the College at some length, as the tone of a purely Sikh institution largely under Sikh management must necessarily be to some extent a reflection of the mental attitude of the particular body of Sikhs who are associated in its control.

13. The present political activity discernible among the Sikhs is the resultant of forces some of which are purely political or purely religious, while others do not fall wholly within the domain either of politics or religion but are as it were an admixture of both. The purely religious forces at work among the Sikhs which affect them as a separate community have already been described; and it will now be necessary to allude to some of the political or politico-religious movements which have influenced the Sikhs in common with the other sections of the Indian population.

The loyalty of the Sikhs is traditional and the tradition rests on the substantial basis of a long and honourable record of loyal and devoted service rendered to the Crown in peace as well as in war. There is in fact among British Officers a very general disposition to suppose that loyalty is inherent in the Sikh and that it is an attribute of him which can be always safely assumed to be above suspicion. Nevertheless a perusal of past records proves conclusively that the Sikhs have all long had among their ranks a leavening of disaffected and even actively disloyal persons. The fanatical Kuka sect among the Sikhs was overtly hostile to the British supremacy and had to be put down with a strong hand. In the early eighties the rumoured advent of Dalip Singh in India had a decidedly unsettling effect on a

large section of the Sikhs among whom hopes ran high of again seeing their rule established in the Punjab. Of this statement there is ample concrete evidence to be found among contemporary records,—books, hand-bills, and speeches; there is also the fact that a village in the Lahore District refused to pay its land revenue, saying that tribute was due only to their King who was shortly to arrive in India. The expulsion from the Chief Khalsa Diwan of the author of the admittedly objectionable work the *Khurshaid-i-Khalsa* was opposed by no less influential Sikhs than the Raja of Faridkot and Baba Khem Singh. This work appeared about 1885 and there is evidence on record to show that in two regiments enlisting Sikhs subscriptions were collected to aid the bringing out of a second edition. Bearing these facts in mind, as also the remarkable advance of Indian political life and thought during the subsequent years, it is in no wise surprising that the Sikhs did not remain unaffected by the wave of disloyal unrest which swept over the Punjab in 1907. The notorious agitator, Ajit Singh, was a Jat Sikh of the Jullundur District and the many inflammatory speeches which he delivered were listened to by, among others, large numbers of Sikhs. After his deportation, there were discovered in circulation Gurmukhi letters expressing sympathy with the agitator. Sikh sepoys were observed among some of the audiences gathered at various political meetings held by Ajit Singh or others of his following and it is known that one or two Sikh soldiers actively participated in the agitation. A Sikh barrister was one of the principal accused in the Rawalpindi riots case. Again when Mr. Gokhale visited the Punjab in the spring of 1907, he associated with, and was feted by, various persons in Lahore whose names were certainly not then synonymous with loyalty or good-will towards Government. When he visited the Khalsa College, apparently on the invitation of some of the staff, the horses were taken out of his carriage by the students who dragged it to the College and finally he lectured in the College Dharmshala from which the *Granth Sahib* was specially removed to make room for him. The *Khalsa Advocate* newspaper of Amritsar, which is the organ of the Chief Khalsa Diwan and the recognised mouth-piece of the educated Sikhs, took to publishing extracts from the seditious *Gaelic American* newspaper and had to be warned for reproducing in June 1907 an article likely to cause discontent among native sepoys and to rouse disaffection against Government. During the quieter years which have succeeded 1907 there is ample evidence, apart from the conduct of the Chief Khalsa Diwan and Khalsa College which will be presently

examined in detail, to prove that the embers of sedition are still smouldering in certain quarters. Two objectionable Gurmukhi newspapers appeared during 1909, one the *Prem* of Ferozepur and the other the *Sacha Dhandora* of Lyallpur. Both these prints were largely echoes of the violently nationalistic writings which were then appearing in the Punjab press and which culminated in a series of press prosecutions during 1909-10; they have now ceased to appear. Moreover the Editor of the *Prem* commenced to render into Gurmukhi a series of the seditious books and pamphlets which emanated from Ajit Singh and the Bharat Mata gang of Lahore. One pamphlet was actually published but the author was thereupon called on to deliver up all copies in his possession under pain of prosecution. From America it has been reported that several ex-sepoys have publicly burnt their medals and discharge certificates, and as the report appeared in a nationalist paper there is no reason to suppose that their conduct has been misrepresented. There is also sufficient evidence available to prove that a spirit of anti-British disaffection is commonly prevalent among Sikhs in Canada. A young Sikh barrister of Amritsar, who was a prominent inmate of the India House in London, was expelled from Cirencester Agricultural College, for wearing a mutiny badge in memory of the "Martyrs" of 1857, which he refused to remove at the request of the Principal; he was eventually called to the Bar in England but the Punjab Chief Court has, on a consideration of his past history, refused to allow him to practise as an Advocate. In 1910 a sowar of a certain Indian Cavalry regiment was dismissed from the service for subscribing to the *Swarajya* newspaper of Allahabad; a journal of which no fewer than four editors have been convicted for publishing seditious matter. Finally an impasse was reached in Patiala affairs in October 1910 which resulted in the summary dismissal under the order of His Excellency the Viceroy, of both the Prime Minister and the Commander-in-Chief. Not only were the activities of these officials and their following inimical to the interests of the Patiala State as such, but there was also clearly traceable in them a distinct under-current of disloyalty to the British Government.

It has been considered necessary to quote such incidents in some detail in order to show clearly that the Sikhs have not been, and are not, immune from the disloyal influences which have been at work among other sections of the populace. It is possible, or indeed

probable, that some of the persons mentioned in the many reports, which are on record regarding the 1907 agitation, have not been implicated in seditious doings at all, or that they have been so concerned to a less degree than is indicated. Still, allowing a certain discount for errors and exaggerations, there remains a preponderating weight of evidence, which can neither be disregarded nor explained away, to show that certain portions of the Sikh community have not escaped the contagion of disloyalty. The contention that some of them are disloyal is in no wise meant to impugn the loyalty of all Sikhs, but it is essential to realise that an anti-British spirit is abroad in certain quarters and is a factor which must be taken into account in deciding from what standpoint certain present day Sikh movements should be viewed.

14. Another influence which has powerfully affected the character and trend of Sikh political activities is what, for want of a better name, may be termed the depressed classes movement.

According to the teachings of the tenth Guru, **The Depressed Classes Movement among the Sikhs** all Sikhs are, strictly speaking, socially equal after baptism and there are none of the caste distinctions which are so characteristic a feature of Hindu society. But Sikhism is only one of the many religions in which practice has overridden precept, and the Jat Sikh has never been able entirely to divest himself of the caste prejudices which pertained to him as a Hindu or to regard as his social equals his coreligionists recruited from classes of lower social standing than his own. This attitude accounts for the existence of the Mazhabis, Ramdasias, Rehtias, Rangretas and other classes of Sikhs, with whom the general body of the Khalsa neither interdine nor inter-marry and whom they regard in much the same light as Hindus view the lower strata of their society. These lowclass Sikhs have never had any attractions held out to them by orthodox Hinduism by which they would be assigned if anything a still lower social position; on the other hand proselytizing religions like Christianity and Islam have secured some converts from among them, though such small defections as have occurred never seem to have caused much anxiety to the Sikhs. With the advent of Arya Samajism this attitude of indifference has had to be abandoned. The Samaj, theoretically at any rate, admits all religions and all classes on terms of social equality and its attractions for low caste Hindus and Sikhs are therefore peculiarly

strong. Between Arya Samajism and Sikhism there are strong points of resemblance, leaving aside the abstention from tobacco and the wearing of 5 Ks., which are inculcated by Sikhism and which are at the best superficial and artificial differences. Moreover the most rigid observance of the religion and rites of the tenth Guru have never given the low-class Sikh the social equality which the Arya religion confers on him immediately on conversion. As a natural consequence many low-class Sikhs have been "reclaimed" by the Samaj, have been shaved in public and have publicly abjured the outward and visible signs of their former faith. The success which has attended the proselytizing activities of the militant Arya sect has greatly disquietened the Sikhs and for a considerable number of years back the more advanced and liberal-minded among them have recognised that a rigid observance of caste barriers must result in the gradual atrophy of the outlying portions of their social system. It is only within the last few years, however, that the admission of low castes, though long regarded as desirable, has actually taken place to any appreciable extent. During 1907 there was founded in Amritsar a society known as the *Khalsa Biradari* which has as its object the levelling up of class distinctions in the way of interdining and inter-marrying and which advocates the reception into the Sikh brotherhood of all persons of whatever class who were previously included in Sikhism. In September 1907 it was said that 60 persons were members but that 700 more were prepared to join. The actual promoters were persons of no great position or influence, but they had behind them the moral support of such men as Sundar Singh Majithia and Mehr Singh Chawla of Lahore. From Lyallpur it was reported that Mazhabis and Jats were beginning to dine together and a preacher of the society, a Khatri Sikh of Lahore named Ranbir Singh, married a Mazhabi widow, a daughter of a retired Subedar in the Lyallpur Colony. The society as such has seemingly never wielded much influence but the impetus given by it to the proselytizing movement has remained, and the reclamation and admission on terms of equality of lowclass Sikhs is now the avowed policy of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. Accordingly when it was announced that an Arya Samaj meeting was to be held at Jullundur in August 1909 for the reclamation of Ramdasias and other low class Sikhs, the Chief Khalsa Diwan issued a vigorous appeal asking its supporters to rally strong at Jullundur to save their brethren from the clutches of the Samaj. Arya and Sikh meetings were held the same day, the

Chief Khalsa Diwan party outbidding the Aryas by formally receiving their low-caste brethren into the fold of Sikhism and eating food at their hands. Resolutions were passed advocating the more general admission of low-castes and asking lambardars and zaildars actively to interest themselves in the question. Among the persons who attended and took part in the proceedings were Sundar Singh Majithia, Kanwar Daljit Singh of Jullundur, Professor Jodh Singh of the Khalsa College and Rai Bahadur Sadhu Singh, a pensioned Forest Official of Amritsar, and Parduman Singh, a pleader of Jullundur. The leaders of the Chief Khalsa Diwan have thus not only actively assisted in the reclamation of low-caste Sikhs on a specific occasion but have deliberately adopted it as their policy for the future.

15. Though probably originally aiming at nothing more than social and religious improvement, the depressed classes movement has come to have at least as great a political as either a social or religious significance. The Arya Samaj is frankly devoted to producing a homogeneous national body, and as Christianity and Islam, in theory at least, subscribe to the doctrine of social equality, orthodox Hinduism and Sikhism have been compelled, to some extent, to keep pace with the more progressive religions or to witness a constant shrinkage of their numbers. Recent events in India, too, if they have brought into existence the idea of a united Indian Nation, have also done much to accentuate the lines of cleavage between the different communities. More especially is this true of the Reform Scheme which has driven home the lesson that representation and consequently power, are in direct proportion to numerical strength. There has been a great awakening of inter-communal jealousy and there is no community that is not fired with the idea of consolidating and improving itself to the utmost of its power. Losses in numerical strength are no longer regarded with indifference. Prior to the taking of the last census, a proposal was put forward to class as non-Hindus certain of the depressed classes who hover on the confines of Hinduism rather than live within its pale, though they have heretofore been enumerated as Hindus. The proposal as emanating from Government may have been primarily dictated by considerations of ethnological exactitude, but the question was also mooted by the Muslim League which desired merely to strike a blow at the political power of the Hindus by detaching from them a very considerable body of people which had been previously regarded

as an integral part of the Hindu nation. The Hindus, though immeasurably superior in numbers to other races in India, took serious alarm at the proposal and opposed it tooth and nail. The idea was ultimately abandoned, but the whole incident aptly illustrates the totally changed standpoint from which the raising of the depressed classes has come to be regarded. The amelioration of the lot of the depressed classes themselves has ceased to supply the entire motive power, and they are regarded as much a political asset which must be retained and developed at all costs, as a fit object for the exercise of missionary or philanthropic effort. The problem of raising their depressed classes has thus, in spite of themselves, been obtruded on the Sikhs and they have been driven to choose between closing up their ranks or seeing the outlying portions of their social system gradually fall into the hands of the enemy. The choice of the former alternative was almost inevitable and it has been adopted. In so far as the movement tends to consolidate the Sikh nation and to enable it to present a solid front to external aggression, it must command the most unqualified approval, for it has already been shown that Government cannot view with indifference the disappearance of the Sikhs as a distinct national entity. But among the Sikhs, as among the Hindus, religion is indissolubly bound up with the social system and a relaxation of social rules is bound to have a disturbing effect on religious beliefs: such a disturbance has, as a matter of fact, been clearly visible in the case of those Sikhs who have subscribed to the reform movement and his falling away from orthodoxy, which in Sikhism is synonymous with loyalty, has again altered the political outlook of those who have been affected by it. These various changes are all accurately reflected in the *Tat Khalsa* sect which has grown up and which it will now be necessary to describe.

16. The tenth Guru Govind Singh appointed no spiritual successor, except the *Granth Sahib* or Sikh Scriptures, though in various temporal matters he commissioned to fill his place a certain one of his disciples named Banda. This person, meeting with some degree of initial success in his encounters with the Moghul arms, was led to put forward claims to the guruship as well, with the result that the Sikhs of that time split up into two parties, one of them obeying the behests of their late Guru and the others supporting the pretensions of Banda. The former were known as the *Tat* (the real or true) *Khalsa*, and the other as *Bandai Khalsa*. In later times the term *Tat Khalsa*

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has been applied by Hindus to what they are pleased to call the "separatist" party among the Sikhs and every orthodox Sikh, if questioned, would claim with pride that he belongs to the Tat or true Khalsa. But just as the term *Swaraj*, which originally meant colonial self-government for India within the empire, has come to denote complete national autonomy, so the expression *Tat Khalsa*, from meaning the orthodox Sikhs generally, has come to be applied to the advanced Sikh reforming party which is not merely orthodox in its religion but seems to be in some danger of falling away from Sikhism altogether. It is in this sense that the expression will be used throughout the following pages.

Though Guru Govind Singh advocated the admission of all castes on a footing of perfect social equality after they had received the *Pahul*, it seems quite clear that even in his time the Hindu Jat, who embraced Sikhism, never actually did accept as his social equals his co-religionists who had been received into the Khalsa from a lower social level than his own. The mere existence of the lower classes of Sikhs such as Mazhabis and others affords practical proof of this, and between them and the Jat Sikhs, as well as Brahman and Khatri Sikhs, there have always existed clearly defined social distinctions. Inter-marrying and inter-dining among the higher and lower classes, though theoretically permitted and even inculcated, have been as little practised as within the orthodox Hindu community itself. Consequently, when in pursuance of the policy of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, its leaders began to receive as social equals and to eat with low-caste Sikhs, they at once found themselves in collision with the religious authorities of the Amritsar Golden Temple and the Sikh hierarchy controlling the different dharamsalas and *Gurudwaras* (Sikh Temples) all over the country. Pujaris began to refuse them admission to places of worship and to reject their offerings. When at the third Sikh Educational Conference, held at Amritsar in 1910, it was proposed that the procession should proceed from the Railway Station to the Golden Temple, the religious authorities made a vigorous protest to the Deputy Commissioner, because the Conference leaders were practically the same persons who had attended the Jullundur meeting in August 1909 and had eaten at the hands of the "converted" Ramdasis and Rahtias. The *emeute* which seemed imminent was averted by the train being late and the procession proceeded direct to the Khalsa College. The rupture between the reforming or *Tat Khalsa* party and the Golden Temple is now complete, but the *Tat Khalsa*

party have come forward to contend that their reforming activities are justified by their scriptures and that they, and not the adherents of the religion of the Golden Temple, are entitled to claim to be *Tat* or true Sikhs. It seems fairly free from doubt that, considering the strong taint of Hinduism that permeates present-day Sikhism, the *Tat Khalsa* party have the weight of the teachings of the tenth Guru behind them in claiming to be *Tat* or true Sikhs; still their indiscriminated and reckless proselytizing is a thing so far unknown in Sikh history and they are prepared to receive direct into the fold of Sikhism Musalmans and other non-Hindus with far less scruple than was shown even by the tenth Guru himself. The Sikh body politic is thus bound to receive accretions which are Sikh neither by tradition nor sentiment, but even if it be admitted that authority for the unquestioning absorption of all and sundry into Sikhism is to be found in Sikh Holy Writ, there is another aspect of the *Tat Khalsa* movement which must give rise to more serious misgiving. With their anxiety to swell the numbers of the Sikh community, it would be imagined that a corresponding quickening of religious zeal would also have manifested itself. It is notorious, however, that all available evidence points to a directly contrary conclusion. The *Tat Khalsa* party have turned the back on their priesthood because of their difference of opinion on the depressed classes movement, and they have ceased to attend at places of worship and to participate in the religious observances enjoined by their religion. So far as is known they have made no efforts to establish *Gurdwaras* which would be administered by priests of their own ways of thinking but they seem on the other hand to have developed an almost complete indifference to their religion and its attendant rites and ceremonies. The freedom of thought and laxity of observance displayed by the *Tat Khalsa* are looked upon with something like dismay by orthodox Sikhs, and the new party appears to be drifting more and more in the direction of Arya Samajism; with great proselytizing zeal but an exceedingly scanty leavening of genuine religion. A union between the two is by no means unthinkable, though at present Sikh "nationalism" is a word that is much in the mouths of the *Tat Khalsa* party and they greatly resent the recent shaving in public of Sikh converts to Aryaism. Still the two religions are in their general nature closely akin, and they are at one on the politico-religious question of kine-killing; in fact the chief essential difference is the adherence on the part of the *Tat* Sikh to the outward and visible signs of his religion and his abstention from tobacco; but these points are

exceedingly superficial and the *Tat Sikh*, from the very nature of the movement, tends to evince a lessening degree of respect for such usages. The obstacles to union are, therefore, far from insurmountable.

On the face of it there appears to be but little to urge against *Tat Khalsa* creed. There are no doubt among its followers a number of zealous Sikhs who desire nothing more than the homogeneity of the Sikh body politic and the protection of it from any risk of further disintegration; such men are probably free from racial bias and political ambition. Still the Sikh is at present an exceedingly important military asset and any luke-warmness he may develop in his attachment to his hereditary faith (which in itself inculcates a spirit of loyalty to the British throne) must need give rise to some misgiving; and this anxiety is in no wise allayed when it is remembered that the new Sikhism appeared to be modelling itself more and more closely on the Arya Samaj, which is admittedly not only a religion but a polity and aims at creating not only a Vedic Church but an Aryan nation. Again, the *Tat Khalsa* must be judged largely by the direction taken by the activities of its leaders and the general nature of these activities has been far from reassuring. If the whole of the adherents of the *Tat Khalsa* are not politically minded, there are assuredly many members of it who are imbued with nationalistic ideals. These enthusiasts aim not merely at forming a homogeneous Sikh community which will be able to defend itself against other rival bodies, but preach the revival of a Sikh nation which will wrest the sceptre from the hands of the British and again establish its rule in the Punjab. This party is what may more properly be called the neo-Sikh party, the activities of which have recently been considerably in evidence.

17. The leading centre of *Tat Khalsism* is the Chief Khalsa Diwan. It would be wrong to suppose that every member of the Chief Khalsa Diwan is of *Tat Khalsa* sympathies, but the management of its affairs has fallen so entirely into *Tat Khalsa* hands and the *Tat Khalsa*

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party is so paramount in its councils that for practical purposes it may be regarded as almost a purely *Tat Khalsa* institution. If *Tat Khalsism* and neo-Sikhism are to be distinguished, it may be said that the *Tat Khalsa* have at heart the consolidation of the Sikhs purely with the view of enabling them to maintain a separate communal existence, while the neo-Sikh party aims at nothing short of the formation of a Sikh nation and the re-establishment of Sikh rule in the Punjab.

How many adherents of the *Tat Khalsa* there are who do not also subscribe to neo-Sikhism, it is extremely hard to estimate. Opinions elicited in many quarters tend to show that the non-political element in the *Tat Khalsa* party is small and un-influential and it seems almost as if the adoption of the *Tat Khalsa* principles tended to become the first step towards the assimilation of the political doctrines of neo-Sikhism. It is needless to say that the Chief Khalsa Diwan is not openly neo-Sikh, and evidence of the existence of the neo-Sikh party must therefore be looked for in the activities of the agents and institutions controlled by it. Many orthodox Sikhs do not hesitate to dub the Chief Khalsa Diwan and the *Tat Khalsa* party thoroughly disloyal bodies, but considering the present enmity that exists between the Diwan and the Golden Temple it would be manifestly unfair to accept this estimate without independent corroborative evidence.

18. The Chief Khalsa Diwan keeps a staff of paid preachers or updeshtaks who stamp the country and lecture on various topics—social, educational, religious, political; and more often, than not all four are inextricably intermingled, as for instance when it is argued that vicious social customs and neglect of religion and education are the direct causes of the alleged political down-fall of the Sikh nation.

Evidence of the Neo-Sikh Movement There is, therefore, no guarantee that at a meeting held ostensibly in connection with any one of these subjects all of them will not in turn come under discussion. Such indeed is generally the case and at the many religious and educational meetings (or *Diwans* as they are often called) held by the Chief Khalsa Diwan's agents the cloven hoof of politics has too frequently been shown. It has so far been considered politic to accept such meetings at their organisers' estimate, and to regard them as well-affected and conceived purely in a spirit of sectarian progress. Less of the proceedings has thus been reported than it is desirable that Government should know, but there is sufficient evidence to warrant the statement that much recklessly loose talk is indulged in and that a good deal of it is calculated to engender a spirit of open hostility to Government. Most of these updeshtaks or strolling preachers put it forward as an axiom that never has the Sikh nation fallen so low or been in so wretched a plight as at present; never, it is argued, has education been so backward, temporal resources so straitened and disease and poverty so rampant. It is true that these manifold ills are not invariably laid at the door of the British Govern-

ment though they are frequently so, but it is difficult to dissociate the idea of the responsibility of the paramount power from the deplorable state of affairs that is depicted as existing under its rule. References are made to the past glories of the Sikh nation and Sikh rule, and there is a tendency to compare their present degraded condition to the hardships and oppressions practised on the Sikhs under Moghul rule. A similarity in effects, it is argued, must be due to a similarity in causes; the Sikhs were wretched and down-trodden in Moghul times because of Moghul cruelty and oppression; present-day conditions are therefore ascribable to similar tyrannies on the part of the British. In the tenth Guru's time freedom and national power were obtained by unity and by valour on the field of battle; cannot present-day Sikhs, it is asked, free themselves and raise themselves by resort to similar means? And so on and so forth. In many of these lectures Sikh national and religious traditions are cunningly prostituted to inflame the martial instincts of the Sikhs and to encourage the idea that if the Sikhs were to combine they could successfully rise in revolt. The history of the Sikh religion is the history of the Sikh nation, and it is easy to see on what grounds the *Tat Khalsa* have not only openly discarded a faith which no longer appeals to them but have rather chosen to pose as the only true followers of a religion through which they can still address a powerful appeal to Sikh national pride. The following is from a speech delivered by one Jagat Singh, updeshak of Lyallpur, in November 1909 :—"Agriculturists are neither well-treated nor helped by any one. On the contrary their blood is being squeezed out of them. The Government is contemplating the recovery of Rs. 52,00,000, which were spent on famine relief, from the agriculturists along with the land revenue assessment. Can there be any more injustice than this? They should combine and act together or otherwise Government will impoverish them to that extent that they will not be able to get up from their beds. If they will combine and spit in one place many persons will be drowned in their saliva. That is the blessing of concord and unity." Again Harbans Singh of Itari, when showing and explaining a number of politico-religious magic lantern pictures, predicted to his audience : "Guru Govind Singh will again come into the world and shall fight with the foreigners and save his people." Similarly at a Khalsa Diwan meeting in the Amritsar District, held in May 1910, Labh Singh, updeshak, urged the people "to unite and sacrifice their lives as did the Gurus." So at a Diwan held at Verka, Amritsar,

Harnam Singh of Batala deplored the fallen condition of the Khalsa and the enmity of Government; foes, he added, were to be overcome by bravery and the sword as in days of old. And yet again a female Sikh preacher, speaking at the annual meeting of the Kohat Singh Sabha, addressed an audience of Sikh women in the Dharmshala, telling them not to teach their children English or to allow them to enter Government service: "They should be taught national professions and Gurmukhi, so that they can read from the *Granth*. The Christians, like Aurangzeb, are destroying the Sikh religion."

Such instances could be greatly multiplied. If a concrete instance of the use of violent or disloyal language on the part of a particular preacher were brought to the notice of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, they would no doubt disclaim responsibility for his words and say that they are working purely for the conservation of the Sikh nation, which is admittedly in danger of disappearing and that in such a case the preachers had spoken without their authority. It would be difficult to find a weak spot in this defence, but the Chief Khalsa Diwan leaders are perfectly aware of what is being done. They constantly appear at these meetings and listen to these speeches, yet the speakers are never pulled up or rebuked; the Diwan leaders, if taxed, would repudiate the views expressed, while they are prepared to profit by and use to their own ends, the spirit of anti-British disaffection that is so instilled into the minds of the people. It would be highly inadvisable to believe in *toto* the numerous reports that have been received regarding the seditious character of the speeches and proceedings at these meetings. No doubt many are entirely false and many more must be heavily discounted. Still, unless we can assume collusion between several mutually unknown reporting agencies, the conclusion is irresistible that much license of speech and thought is habitually indulged in. It is impossible to avoid the inference that there are very frequent references to oppression, freedom by the sword, national unity, sacrifice of life for the nation, and so forth, and it is equally impossible to imagine how such matters can be brought into any practical relation with questions of purely social, religious or educational reform.

The disquieting impression, which a study of the procedure at these meetings must produce, is not removed by the perusal of a good deal of what has appeared in print; and here at least we are on safer ground than more hearsay evidence. Mention has already been made of the nationalistic organs, the *Prem* and the *Sacha Dhandora*, both of

which are now defunct. The following is from the latter paper and appeared in its issue of the 22nd September, 1909, in relation to the subject of "Coercive Policy in India." The article runs: "This short sketch shows that the Gurus and their Sikhs acting on the motto of 'without fear, without animosity' had adopted the policy of loving every one and did not take up arms even when their heads were cut off; but when it came to the protection of religion and the defenceless poor, they took it upon themselves to fight for them. This policy, which was troublesome to themselves and not any one else, was adopted by them simply to put a stop to oppression. They made people not to pay land revenue to the rulers and cheerfully bore its consequences. This went on for a long time and at last the tyrants had to get the reward of their ill-deeds. This has happened in many places and at many times; wherever and whenever tyranny and injustice exceeded bounds, the leaders gave their lives to stop it, and if that did not stop it, the others put a stop to it by the force of arms. These examples of our Gurus show us what should be our fixed programme." In 1909 there appeared a pamphlet entitled *Ki Khalsa Kalaj Sikhian da hai ?* which was written by Master Sundar Singh of the Khalsa School, Lyallpur. It has already been shown that Government's interference in Khalsa College affairs in 1908 was mainly instrumental in saving that institution from utter extinction. Though Government has not only saved but subsidised the College, its action has been most ungratefully misrepresented and shamelessly distorted by some of the more zealous members of the Sikh national party, who have alleged that the intervention of Government has robbed the College of its purely national characteristics and so aimed a blow at the distinct nationality of the Sikhs. In Sundar Singh's pamphlet many of these mischievous representations have taken concrete shape. He accused the British Government of having robbed the Sikhs of their College just as they had by gross breach of faith previously swallowed up the Punjab. The language used was in many places rabidly intemperate. "God forbid that ever through the influence of our foes the College is abolished or by the assistance of the mischievous men of the nation it turns into a Government institution." The author attacked with equal vehemence Sirdar Sundar Singh Majithia, whom he denounced as a traitor for having brooked Government interference; it was merely under the pretence of supervision that the British Government took possession of the Punjab." The pamphlet in many places unquestionably amounted to seditious libel of Government, it was published by the aid of money collected

from Sikhs and was circulated extensively among the civil population as well as in the Army. The work cannot be proved to represent the sentiments of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, in that it virulently attacked Sundar Singh Majithia, the leader of that body, who was prominently connected with the reconstitution of the College Committee in 1908. It is not certain, however, how far Government intervention commended itself to such Sikhs as Sundar Singh Majithia; though outwardly it was accepted with but little protest, there is reason to believe that inwardly it was keenly resented; men in Sundar Singh's position cannot afford openly to associate themselves with the opinions and language of the pamphlet, and the Chief Khalsa Diwan leaders would repudiate both the pamphlet and its writer. Still the circulation of the pamphlet proves beyond doubt the anti-British spirit which animates a section of the members of the Diwan, who by virtue of their lower position can disregard the circumspection which the leaders of the body are compelled to observe in their conduct and utterances. The following is from a leaflet entitled '*Sachhi Yadgar*' (True Memorial) which appeared about January 1911. "We should try to make a brave and victorious nation out of the dead and thus save the country from being carried away by the flood which has now invaded it. The country has suffered many vicissitudes which the pen finds it difficult to enumerate. The Sikhs have been watching many anxious nights so that this burden may be lifted up from the country. What Guru Gobind Singh's sword did with Aurangzeb, you should also do today. Say why are you frightened? You have neither house nor power nor strength. Even your religion is paying impost. A thick and dark cloud of tyranny has spread over the country." The leaflet is a glorification of the tenth Guru, whose teachings the Chief Khalsa Diwan more particularly affects, and it is highly coloured with the militant characteristics of the Khalsa religion. Another pamphlet entitled *Sikh Vidya Utte Lekh*, which was distributed gratis at the Sikh Educational Conference held at Amritsar in 1910, describes the fallen condition of the Sikhs, and preaches unity and secular and religious education as the only means by which the Sikhs can again rise; but the author pronounces definitely against English education and implies that it is opposed to the teachings of Guru Nanak. There are several other publications which are of a very similar nature, but which have not been subjected to a detailed examination.

Besides the printed matter which has been alluded to above, a

certain further amount of concrete and tangible evidence of the existence of the neo-Sikh movement is to be found in a series of pictorial broad-sheets which appeared mostly in 1910, and which are believed to be the handiwork of Jagat Singh, Updeshak of Lyallpur. These dealt with a variety of subjects, female education, lives of the Sikh saints, etc., and the meaning is conveyed by closely grouped masses of wood-cuts mostly representing scenes of a historical or allegorical nature and often in themselves free from any objection. But in one sheet dealing with female education, which represented a Sikh heroine well-known in history grafting a tree which was flowering with the past great doings of the Sikhs and their Gurus, there was introduced at the top the text: "He is only to be known as brave who fights for the cause of his religion; who, though cut to pieces, does not leave the field," and near it a wood-cut of the globe being borne away on the wings of a bird, with the inscription, "The rulers of the Kalyug (present age) are butchers, and Dharm (religion, justice) has taken wings and flown away." The second quotation is from Guru Nanak *Majh Ki War*, describing the state of India at the time of Babar when cruelties were being practised on the Hindus, not Sikhs, and the stanza goes on: "In this completely dark night of falsehood the moon of truth is never seen to rise. ... How shall deliverance be obtained?" In close juxta-position there is a picture representing the ninth Guru in a cage and an early Sikh martyr having his head sawn asunder.* The pictures seem to suggest the means of deliverance taught by Govind Singh, namely the sword, and valour on the field of battle. It is difficult otherwise to conceive the appropriateness of quotations applicable to an age when there were tyrannous rulers against whom the sword was the only remedy, unless the intention is to convey the impression that British rule is equally galling and oppressive and demands the use of similar remedies. Other instances could be adduced. The purport is not by any means always clear and it is greatly obscured by the bewildering variety of wood-cuts. Still, without any undue straining, it is always possible to put upon these sheets the nationalistic construction which their author obviously intended them to bear. A Sikh officer appraised the picture which has been described in detail as exceedingly clever in that the various appeals were all quotations from the scriptures, but the object of putting them in was, he considered, to inflame the military pride of the Sikhs. In all these pictures the Sikh religious and martial

*A portion of this broadsheet is reproduced as Appendix V.

traditions have been cleverly prostituted, and it is the little by-pictures and quotations which really give savour to the whole issue. The intention of them all seems to be the same, namely to create disaffection and suggest an historical remedy for bad times. Reports have been received which narrate that these broad-sheets have as a matter of fact been shown to school-boys and others for the purpose of inculcating the lessons of the present wretched plight of the Sikh nation and the need of unity and reform.

Finally, there is the conduct of the Chief Khalsa Diwan leaders. Sundar Singh Majithia and others, who are the controlling centre of the body, are constantly in the company of such persons as Jagat Singh, Updeshak, the author of the pictures, and other preachers who are responsible for the type of speeches and writings which have been described. Sundar Singh's constant companions are such men as Trilochan Singh, Pleader, Vir Singh, of the *Khalsa Samachar* newspaper, Jodh Singh of the Khalsa College, and others. The disloyalty of these men is notorious, and is admitted on all hands. Yet they tour the country with the Diwan leaders, and when Sirdar Sundar Singh's son was married they were honoured guests at the wedding. When the Commissioner of Lahore, who is President of the Khalsa College Council and Managing Committee, was in Amritsar early in 1910, Sirdar Sundar Singh did not come to see him for six days and then left a card followed by a letter saying that urgent business had called him away from Amritsar. The Commissioner held a durbar, but not a single neo-Sikh attended. Their absence provoked considerable comment among the orthodox Sikhs, as did previously the scanty ceremony shown to the Deputy Commissioner when he attended one day the Educational Conference held at Amritsar in 1910.

19. The cumulative effect of these different items of evidence is very great even if any one of them be held to be inconclusive or worthless in itself. A study of the present condition of internal affairs in the Khalsa College is exceedingly instructive as that institution is the child of the Chief of the Khalsa College Khalsa Diwan and, being largely controlled by it, can therefore be regarded as a more or less accurate reflection of outside and inside thought and movements.

The origin and early history of the Khalsa College have already been briefly narrated in paragraph 12, where it has also been stated that the students in 1907 were guilty of demonstrations of rudeness

and anti-British hostility against two European officers—one civil and one military—who visited the College on two separate occasions. In paragraph 13, too, mention has been made of Mr. Gokhale's visit to the College at a time when his presence in the Punjab was welcomed chiefly by the members of the more advanced political party which was responsible for the agitation and troubles of 1907. Mr. Gokhale was accorded a most enthusiastic reception by the students who unyoked the horses and dragged his carriage to the College, where the Granth Sahib was specially removed from the *Gurdwara* to enable him to lecture; the sacred *Nishan Sahib* (or Sikh emblem of victory) is also said on high authority to have been taken from the temple and carried in front of Mr. Gokhale's carriage. When a deadlock in the College affairs was reached in 1907-08, the Sikh States, in inviting Government's intervention, expressed themselves in terms of unqualified disapproval of the tone and management of the institution. In 1908 the Tikka Sahib of Nabha, writing to the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, was disposed to fear that the old objectionable element, which had brought the College to grief, had still too strong a voice in the reconstituted Council; he mentioned Sirdar Sundar Singh Majithia (the former and the present Secretary), Dharam Singh, an Engineer, who was employed on the building work of the College but had to be got rid of, Harbans Singh of Itari, and Trilochan Singh Pleader, as men who cherished anti-Government views and had engineered the anti-British demonstrations and the visit of Mr. Gokhle. Inside the College, the Tikka Sahib said, they were supported by professors of the type of Jodh Singh and Nihal Singh and he had grave apprehensions that, unless these malcontents were dissociated from the management, things would gradually drift back into their old unsatisfactory condition. The Tikka Sahib's fears have been more than realised. It would be tedious even to summarise the numerous reports regarding the openly seditious lectures addressed to the students by such teachers as Jodh Singh, Nihal Singh, Sundar Singh, Narayan Singh, Hari Singh Chima, Jagan Nath and others. Such reports no doubt contain the usual elements of falsehood and exaggeration, yet Colonel Parsons, Commissioner of Lahore and President of the College Managing Committee and Council, who devoted much time and anxious study to Khalsa College affairs on the spot, gave it as his deliberate opinion that seditious talk was undoubtedly indulged in between masters of the type of Jodh Singh and disaffected visitors, and that senior students were admitted to these talks. It is beyond

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all question that such objectionable characters as Harnam Singh, the Barrister of India House fame, Harbans Singh of Itari, Jagat Singh, the Lyallpur Updeshak, and others are allowed free access to the College and students; and the usual subjects of talk on such occasions are again unity, sacrifice for the nation, the degraded state of the Sikhs and the various other shibboleths of the political propaganda being pushed outside. There is no doubt whatever that numbers of Jagat Singh's pictorial broad-sheets were received and circulated in the College, and that the students have witnessed exhibitions of magic lantern pictures framed on similar lines with similar objects. It is believed that seditious literature is received in the College from abroad and the circulation of the violently nationalistic *Free Hindustan* was on one occasion proved. A Sikh named Lachman Singh, who was hanged at Gujranwala in 1909 for murdering another Sikh who had embraced Muhammadanism, has been canonised as a '*Shahid*' or martyr, and his photograph in his cell is another of those that have been shown to Khalsa College students as representing a type of Sikh whom they should strive to emulate. This picture was actually seen by the European Government Inspector of Schools when he paid a surprise visit to the Khalsa College School in July 1910. The Inspector also found a teacher pouring over Macauliffe's History of the Sikhs when an arithmetic lesson should have been in progress, and he gleaned a general impression of great slackness and lack of efficient supervision. As lately as the middle of March 1911, insulting notices, attacking the newly appointed Principal, were pasted on the College walls and on the doors of the Principal's house. All this evidence, some of it hearsay but some of it to be less readily explained away, leads one to form an impression of the general tone and loyalty of the College which coincides in a remarkable degree with the opinions entertained by local officers who have based their conclusions on first-hand knowledge and personal observation. But if more evidence be needed, orthodox Sikhs themselves regard the type of education imparted at the College with the greatest misgivings. They complain that the College turns out boys with a marked political bias, and that this bias is distinctly not favourable to the British Government. Soon after the Amritsar Educational Conference of 1910, a young student of the College, a nephew of a prominent Sikh gentleman of Amritsar and a 'volunteer' at the Conference, was taken ill and died. The sentiments expressed by the lad before he died amazed his uncle, a man of sterling loyalty. The lad said: "I am not afraid to die. All life

is sacrifice. If I had been allowed to live I might have done great things by sacrifice. Until the nation realises that lives must be sacrificed, it will never come to anything", or words to that effect. The uncle had not the slightest doubt that the laying down of life in the boy's thoughts was sacrifice not for Government but against it. Similarly a Subedar complained to the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar that a Khalsa College student of the B. A. class had been openly advising people in his village not to serve the British Government and that several would-be recruits had in consequence cried off.

It seems, in fact, to admit of no doubt that in the College young students are systematically tampered with and seduced from their loyalty to Government. Sirdar Sunder Singh is Secretary of the Managing Committee, and as such he is largely responsible for the actual every-day control of the College. Trilochan Singh and Vir Singh, both zealous neo-Sikhs, are on the Council, the former being also on the Committee. The College staff are intimately associated with these men, and the College is at present run by them to the almost complete exclusion of other influence. The present condition of the College, therefore, affords striking evidence as to the true nature of the underlying ideals of the neo-Sikh propaganda.

20. The Sikh Educational Conference is, as its name implies, a body of Sikhs which is devoted to the promotion and encouragement of education among its co-religionists. The Conference was founded in 1908 when it met at Gujranwala and landed property worth one lakh of rupees was made over to it by Sirdar Balwant Singh of Butalawala. Subsequent annual meetings were held at Lahore in 1909, at Amritsar in 1910, while the fourth and most recent meeting of the Conference took place at Rawalpindi in April 1911. The reasons which led to the founding of the Sikh Educational Conference are not clearly known. It has been alleged that the prime mover was the Tikka Sahib of Nabha, who during his membership of the Viceroy's Council came under the influence of Bengali and Maratha leaders and was prevailed upon by them to start the Conference to make good the educational deficiencies of the Sikhs and so bring about their political awakening. Again it has been alleged that the Conference was founded by the Chief Khalsa Diwan, which, resenting Government's interference in Khalsa College affairs in 1908, resolved to build a new Sikh College independent of Government control, and devised in the Conference a means of collecting funds for this object. Yet a further explanation put forward is

that it was started by the malcontents among the Sikhs, so that by appearing to go one step better even than Government in the matter of Sikh education, they should gain the good-will and support of the masses. Any or all of these causes may have been contributory in some degree, but it is doubtful whether any one of them in itself is sufficient to account for the existence of the Conference. It has already been remarked that the happenings of the past few years have served greatly to intensify the fierceness of inter-communal rivalry in India. There has been a corresponding quickening of interests in educational matters, education having come to be regarded as the most essential condition of communal and political advancement. These influences have been at work among the Sikhs as among others, and a realisation of the indispensability of education has been accompanied in their case by a growing consciousness of the educational backwardness which has hitherto characterised them as a community. Bearing these facts in mind, the circumstances of the founding of the Sikh Educational Conference need not be regarded as abnormal or unnatural or as requiring any extraordinary reasons to account for it. The movement has commanded the hearty support of all classes among the Sikhs, because the need of education is universal and generally recognised. The Conference, though it has as one of its objects to ameliorate and propagate Sikhism, is declared in the statement of aims and objects to be a non-political body. It is attended by delegates from different provinces who are elected by the different Khalsa Diwans and Singh Sabhas, or, failing such bodies, by general meetings of local Sikhs; also by delegates from Sikh Schools and Colleges.

Though the Sikh Educational Conference is thus a movement which in its ostensible aims and objects is above reproach and which should receive, as indeed it does receive, the most hearty support of all classes of Sikhs, yet the fact that it has been originated, and is controlled, by the Chief Khalsa Diwan must give rise to some anxiety as to the direction its activities may eventually take. The exact position occupied by the Chief Khalsa Diwan in Sikh affairs has already been defined, and it has been shown that its present destinies are controlled by a party which is certainly religiously unorthodox and almost certainly politically ambitious. The activities of this party do not command the sympathies of many of the supporters of the Diwan itself, that is, of such orthodox Sikhs as have not embraced the *Tat Khalsa* doctrines; still less could the controlling agency of the Diwan look for support—moral or financial—to those Sikhs who are disposed

to make common cause with the Hindus. But the starting of the Educational Conference has altered all this. That the Sikhs are backward in education and that advancement is urgently needed are accepted as axiomatic truths by Sikhs of all shades of opinions who have, therefore, regarded the Conference as a cause in respect of which all sectarian differences may be sunk in furtherance of the common weal; they have given not only moral support but also financial assistance. The actual nature of the objects, however, to which these moneys subscribed in the name of education are to be devoted, rests within the decision of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. The question, therefore, briefly resolves itself into this. Has the Educational Conference been started strictly for educational purposes or in furtherance of political ambitions; and will the funds collected and entrusted to the Diwan be spent on education as such or for the promotion of the 'national' objects which the Diwan has so greatly at heart? It is exceedingly hard to give a definite answer to these questions one way or the other; but an examination of what has so far been said and done at the various sessions of the Conference enables one to form at least an intelligent anticipation of the answer which time is likely to give. In spite of the avowal that one of the objects of the Conference is to assist and improve existing schools and colleges, it has so far, beyond the mere passing of resolutions, made no very marked efforts in this direction. It appears to have evinced little or no disposition to come forward as a co-adjutor of Government in educational matters or to supplement the educational work that is already being done under state auspices. There has rather been manifested a disposition to make out that so far nothing has been done for Sikh education at all, or that what has been done has been on utterly wrong lines, and that a fresh start must now be made. There has also been much talk of the need of 'national' education and of the opening of Gurmukhi schools which would impart education on 'national' lines. Thus at the third Sikh Educational Conference held at Amritsar in 1910, one of the speakers was Professor Jodh Singh of the Khalsa College who had to be interrupted in a furore of seditious talk of which the burden was to condemn unsparingly Government service and the Government system of education; he said in conclusion that even a sweeper should be given the *Pahul*, and that if the Sikhs were to unite and take the direction of their educational affairs into their own hands, the result should be *Wahguru Ji ka Khalsa te Sri Wahguru Ji Ki Fateh* (the Sikh national greeting)—or in other words, that the Sikhs would be all in all. At the same time

the pamphlet *Sikh Vidya Utte Lekh* was distributed among the assembly. This work has already been alluded to and its general purport was to prove that the Sikhs had done badly under the English system of education and that it was time they reverted to that prescribed by their Gurus. At the Rawalpindi Conference of 1911 the demand for 'national' education took still more definite shape. The President, Sirdar Sundar Singh Majithia, appealed to the assembly of some 4,000 or 5,000 people to start a "Sikh National Educational Fund" for the establishment of elementary schools in towns and villages. The proposal was received by the large audience with the utmost enthusiasm and subscriptions were freely promised. Sirdar Jogindar Singh, Home Minister of Patiala, promised Rs. 5,000. Sant Singh, his brother, Rs. 3,000 and Sirdar Sundar Singh Majithia, Rs. 3,000. Sant Attar Singh, a distinguished Sikh spiritual leader and a man of markedly strong personality, promised to collect Rs. 5,000 from his disciples, and Sirdar Jogindar Singh said he would establish at Patiala a committee which would form sub-committees, start schools in the villages and collect ten lakhs towards the Educational Fund. Professor Jodh Singh held that it was useless to ask for subscriptions, the first thing, he said, was to convert the people to Sikhism (by which he presumably meant the *Tat Khalsa*) and when they were Sikhs they would of their own accord give freely of their incomes. It is believed that so far a sum of Rs. 40,000 has been collected towards the National Educational Fund and that a lakh more has been promised.

So far as is known, nothing practical has yet been done in pursuance of the objects for which the Fund was started and it must, therefore, be largely a matter of conjecture what shape the educational policy of the Chief Khalsa Diwan will eventually assume. It may be that the Diwan will increase its number of Updeshaks, or that it will provide duly qualified Gurmukhi teachers for village Dharamsalas. A recent report has it that the result will be to place in each village an agent of the Diwan, who will be primarily an instrument for the spread of the *Tat Khalsa* propaganda and afterwards a teacher. So much is certain that the acquisition and control of considerable sums of money will enable the Diwan greatly to extend its field of operations among the general Sikh community, and to elaborate and improve its existing machinery. The Diwan's educational activities will in any case require careful supervision. While it continues to cling to the present policy of its leaders, any considerable increase in the number of its

paid preachers, if they are of the same kidney as some of its present employees, must necessarily be regarded with some suspicion. If, on the other hand, the Diwan decides to provide through proper teachers elementary education for the rising Sikh generation, the result may be a still more potential source of mischief, if not of active danger. For, by the Diwan's own showing, it has been driven to take the initiative in education because the present system is inherently hostile to the true interests of the Sikh nation and it is, therefore, to be presumed that the new educational policy will be directed to the inculcation of ideals which are at present neglected and to the evolution of a type of character which the existing regime has set itself to discourage.

21. During recent years the activities of the Chief Khalsa Diwan have not been confined purely to the Punjab. It has been devoting its energies to other provinces as well, in the matter of establishing Singh Sabhas and getting *Sahjdhari* Sikhs baptised as *Singhs*. There are now Singh Sabhas at such places as Larkana (Sindh), Shikarpur, Karachi, Poona, Sasaram (Bengal), Calcutta, Rangoon, and else-where. Preachers visit these outlying parts and collect money for educational and other purposes. The principal branches of the Diwan in Internal Affairs of the Punjab are : The Manjha Diwan at Tarn Taran; Chief Khalsa Diwan the Panch Khalsa Diwan in Patiala State; the Malwa Khalsa Diwan at Choochar Chak, Ferozpur District and the Khalsa Doaba Diwan at Jullundur. Singh Sabhas exist in all towns and important villages in the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province where there is a considerable body of Sikhs domiciled. The supporters of the Chief Khalsa Diwan were believed to be about 10,000 in 1907. Their present number is said to exceed 20,000.

There is a considerable section among the adherents of the Chief Khalsa Diwan which views its present management with dislike, not only because of the advanced character of its religious and political propaganda, but also because of the ascendancy which the Aroras have gained in its councils. The Arora Sikhs are recruited from a socially inferior class of Khatri of the same name who, have always been notorious for the sharpness of their business instincts. At present Sirdar Sundar Singh, the Secretary of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, who is a man of admittedly weak and unstable character, is largely in the hands of Trilochan Singh, pleader, and Vir Singh, of the *Khalsa Samachar* newspaper, both of whom are Aroras by caste. There are persistent rumours that these men abuse their position and influence

to secure their caste-fellows employment under the Diwan, and also to divert into their own pockets money which should be spent for the good of the society. Most of the funds vested in the Diwan are kept in the Punjab Sindh Bank, an Amritsar institution which seems to be allied to the Chief Khalsa Diwan itself and of which Trilochan Singh is a manager. These charges of mismanagement and misappropriation have so far been vague and have been expressions of suspicion rather than definite accusations; still they have emanated from many independent quarters and have already resulted in some unsettling of the confidence of its supporters in the *bonafides* of the Diwan's management.

Another cause which has shorn the Chief Khalsa Diwan of some of its prestige and influence was the starting in 1909 of a new body entitled the Central Khalsa Diwan. This society seems to owe its foundation to the jealousy existing between Sundar Singh Majithia and the Tikka Sahib of Nabha, the former had already incurred the dislike of the Sikh States owing to his conduct of Khalsa College affairs, and the feeling took a more personal character when in 1909 Sundar Singh was appointed to succeed the Tikka Sahib in the Viceregal Legislative Council, contrary to the latter's wishes. The influence of the Tikka Sahib appears to have been sufficient to induce a considerable body of its Malwa and Phulkian States supporters to sever their connection with the Chief Khalsa Diwan. The new Central Diwan had its headquarters at Bagrian in the Ludhiana District and its first President was Bhai Arjan Singh of that place; other office-bearers were Sirdar Gurdit Singh of Patiala, Vice-President; Bhagwan Singh of Patiala, Secretary; and Sodhi Sujan Singh and Uttam Singh, both of Patiala, Joint-Secretaries. Little has been heard of the Central Diwan since its formation. Its real founder, the Tikka Sahib, has been abroad most of the time since its formation and he is still away. The office is said to have since been transferred to Patiala. What the future of the society will be cannot be known until the return of the Tikka Sahib from Europe; but so far its formation does not appear to have impaired the Chief Khalsa Diwan's ability to conduct the educational conference or its other ordinary business; this year an important Patiala contingent headed by Sirdar Jogindar Singh, Home Minister, was present at the Rawalpindi Session. The movement is chiefly of interest as showing how Manjha-Malwa* jealousy can still interfere

*The Manjha is, roughly, the country north of the Sutlej and the Malwa the country south of it.

with concerted action on the part of the Sikhs as a community, as there are not known to be any fundamental political differences between the two bodies.

22. The position of the Sikh States in present day Sikh politics is somewhat outside the scope of this note, which has been based on information and observations which have relation, for the most part, purely to British territory. Nevertheless the Sikh States are an integral part of the Sikh nation, many of their members participate in Sikh movements originated outside them, and many notable figures in Sikh politics, though dwelling in British limits, pay visits to the Sikh States.

The Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Khalsa College have from their beginning belonged as much to the States as to British districts. It is true that the States have long been dissatisfied with the Khalsa College and wished to open a similar institution nearer their own territories, but this has been partly due to the fact that the College is situated in Manjha territory, benefits mostly Manjha youths, and, though started and supported largely by Malwa funds, is mainly under Manjha management. The Khalsa Diwan, until the Tikka Sahib's break with Sundar Singh, appears to have enjoyed the consistent support of its sympathisers in the States. These facts in themselves favour the conclusion that Sikh thought in the States has advanced *Pari Passu* with the outside districts. The depressed classes meeting of August 1909 was attended by Sirdar Daljit Singh of Kapurthala and had the sympathy of the Hon'ble Sirdar Partap Singh of the same State. The Education Conference has received constant assistance from States officials such as Sodhi Sujana Singh of Patiala; in fact it is credibly reported that the young Maharaja of Patiala was induced to accept the presidency of the Rawalpindi Conference, but was eventually dissuaded by his *Ahlikars* from fulfilling his promise. The definitely anti-British character of the intrigues in Patiala, led by Sirdars Pritam Singh and Gurdit Singh and resulting in their dismissal in November, 1910, has already been alluded to; and there is more than sufficient evidence to justify the belief that the loyalty of the Tikka Sahib of Nabha leaves much to be desired. Sant Attar Singh, a resident of Mastuana, on the borders of the Jhind, Patiala and Nabha States, and a leading figure in the *Tat Khalsa* movement, is believed to have much influence in the States. In

October 1910 he was taken in procession through Patiala, seated by the side of the *Granth Sahib* on an elephant, and was met by the Maharaja and presented with a *Nazar* of Rs. 51. At the Rawalpindi Education Conference, 1911, as has already been related, the cause of the Sikh National Educational Fund was warmly espoused by Sirdar Jogindar Singh, Home Minister Patiala, who undertook to work for the cause and collect funds in his State; and most of the resolutions passed on that occasion were seconded by Sodhi Sujan Singh of Patiala. Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, the leading figure in Sikh politics outside the States, is intimately connected with some of the Sikh Chiefs. His eldest son is married to the daughter of Sirdar Jiwan Singh of Shahzadpur, the girl's mother being a sister of the late Maharaja of Patiala. Another daughter of Jiwan Singh is married to the minor Raja of Faridkot, and one of his sons is betrothed to the daughter of Sirdar Jogindar Singh, the present Home Minister of Patiala. It was the influence of Jogindar Singh and Sundar Singh that induced the Maharaja's provisional acceptance of the presidentship of the Rawalpindi Conference. Jogindar Singh is a native of Rasulpur in the Amritsar District, and he was appointed Home Minister of Patiala before the Maharaja's departure to England in May 1911. At that time it was within the bounds of possibility that Jogindar Singh might himself have to take leave during the Maharaja's absence, in which case it was His Highness's wish that Sirdar Sundar Singh should temporarily fill the position of Home Minister.

While it would be impossible to express a definite opinion as to the present attitude of the Sikh States, there seems to be a balance of probability in favour of the view that it would be at least unwise to assume that the present political situation in them is radically different from that of the Sikh districts under British administration.

23. In the attempt which has been made to delineate the more important outward manifestations of Sikh politics, it has been found possible simultaneously to indicate in what directions there lurked danger to Government under existing conditions. The most fundamental and immediate of the evils which the present situation seems likely to produce is the dismantling of the fabric of the orthodox Sikh faith, with consequent disregard of the loyal traditions which have hitherto powerfully affected the character of the Sikh attitude towards the British administration. Whether the cult of the lax *Tat Khalsa* faith may tend eventually to

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throw its professors into the arms of the Arya Samaj, it is yet too early, on the material available, to a hazard a prophecy; the constant harping on Sikh "nationality" which is at present a pronounced feature of the *Tat Khalsa* propaganda, would seem to preclude all possibility of an immediate union. It seems likely, too, that the decision of the recently formed Hindu Elementary Education League, to teach Hindi in the Dev Nagri character instead of Punjabi in the Gurmukhi character, will still further widen the breach. But there need be no hesitation in predicting that those Sikhs, who affect the new faith, will inevitably tend to degenerate physically, and to become less and less reliable an asset as regards their loyalty to the Crown. The movement is in any case fatal to the continued existence of the orthodox Sikh as the term is now understood, for it engenders a disregard of the creed and ritual of the tenth Guru which have done so much to raise the Sikh to his present high level of excellence as a man and a soldier. The consequences may be serious if ever the *Tat Khalsa* party succeed in obtaining possession of the Golden Temple and are in a position to arrogate to themselves the leadership in religious affairs which they have already assumed in politics. The probability of their meeting with success in such a move is not very remote. In 1907 the designs of the *Tat Khalsa* party on the Golden Temple formed the subject of a complaint made by a deputation of Sikh priests to the Raja of Nabha. Since then it has on several occasions been reported that constant endeavours are being made by the *Tat* Sikhs to win over the *Granthis* and *Pujaris* of the Golden Temple, though with what degree of success has not been ascertained. The success of the *Tat Khalsa* efforts in this direction is bound to be productive of exceedingly far reaching results as affecting the future of the Sikh religion.

It is somewhat difficult to explain clearly to what precise extent neo-Sikhism is likely to prove more immediately dangerous than *Tat Khalsism* to which it is so closely akin. If any distinction between them is possible it is this: the *Tat Khalsa* movement may mature but slowly, though it seems bound ultimately to rob the army of a valuable asset by evolving a type of Sikh whom it will be no longer desirable or possible to enlist; the neo-Sikh party, on the other hand, may at any time become an active danger if ever it believes that circumstances favour the chances of its making a successful bid for victory. The British Government, more particularly the Military administration, has put itself into a queer position as regards the Sikhs, who have been fostered and patted and taught to regard themselves as a great

nation with great national traditions. This glorification of the Sikhs has been productive of curious results, because, while it has kept the banner of Sikhism flying to the great advantage of Government, it now appears to be likely to be used as an instrument to scourge us by a section of those for whose good it was primarily undertaken. Neo-Sikhism is nonetheless dangerous because it may appear outwardly to be merely an exaggerated form of a cult for the birth of which Government has itself been largely responsible. The Chief Khalsa Diwan and the neo-Sikhs generally more particularly adhere to Guru Govind Singh who welded the Sikhs into a militant race. Though some of the members of the Diwan and Singh Sabhas do no more than endeavour to promote homogeneity and progress, there are others who have become infatuated with Guru Govind Singh's military teachings and try to spread that inflation to the Sikhs generally. That is the essence of neo-Sikh politics, and the evidence which has been adduced to prove the existence of the movement receives support from the independent personal observations of many officers of great experience. The neo-Sikh party is suffering from what may be expressively, if vulgarly, termed "wind in the head", and the advent of what appeared to it a favourable opportunity for action might readily stir it into active rebellion. The mere existence of the movement is a constant potential source of danger, though the degree of acuteness which that danger may assume is necessarily contingent on many different circumstances. It is because of this aspect of neo-Sikhism that an attempt has been made to distinguish it from *Tat Khalsaism* with which it is intimately connected. It is the political side of the *Tat Khalsa* creed, one of the most disquieting features of the whole *Tat Khalsa* movement is of the neo-Sikhs. There are, of course, not a few orthodox Sikhs who are disloyal and whose disloyalty is in no wise due to the assimilation of *Tat Khalsa* doctrines; the speedy absorption of such into the neo-Sikh party is almost inevitable, so that neo-Sikhism may be regarded no less as an organised movement for the corrupting of the loyal than as a rallying-point for the malcontents and the already disaffected.

The participation of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, under its present leadership, in the control of Sikh education, is a matter which cannot be regarded with indifference. Until the politics of the Diwan undergo a change for the better, it would be extremely inadvisable, either politically or religiously, to allow it a free hand in moulding the

character and opinions of the rising generation of Sikhs. The adoption of the war-cry of education, which has recently been raised, has been a singularly astute move, because it has enabled the Diwan to command the financial assistance and moral support of many whose sympathies incline neither to its religion nor politics. The peculiar danger of the Sikh Educational Conference seems to lie in the possibility it opens up of a certain section of the Sikhs, who are objectionable both religiously and politically, being able to graft their ideals and policy on the whole of the Sikh community. The danger is not lessened by the fact that the Diwan is at present able to enlist on its side many Sikhs whose assistance is ignorantly given for the furtherance of objects which in reality they view with disapproval and even repugnance.

There are undoubtedly factors in the present situation of Sikh politics which must give rise to no little anxiety, or which may even be regarded as having in them elements of active danger. On the other hand it is doubtful whether the Diwan has yet won much influence among the masses of the rural Jat Sikh population, and therein for the present lies no inconsiderable safe-guard. The pro-Hindu party, again, is controlled by soi-disant spiritual leaders who profit largely by the offerings of their followers, and who are not, therefore, likely to make common cause with the Diwan or to see with indifference its coffers filled with contributions which at present form one of their most lucrative sources of income; a union between them and the Diwan is at present highly improbable, because of the essentially irreconcilable nature of the interests involved. The Manjha-Malwa jealousy, too, is still a powerful factor in Sikh politics, as the recent formation of the Central Khalsa Diwan conclusively proves, and this jealousy will probably for some time to come make concerted action between the parties difficult. Finally the present leaders of the Chief Khalsa Diwan itself are not men of commanding ability or influence; the persistent rumours of peculations in its funds may before long result in exposing it as an unprincipled clique of self-seekers, and, by giving the lie to its profession of disinterested zeal for the common good of the Sikhs may incidentally serve to discredit the movements which it has inaugurated.

These are a few considerations which may allay in some measure the uneasiness to which a study of present-day Sikh politics must inevitably, in a greater or less degree, give rise. At the same time the unlettered masses are rapidly becoming a thing of the past, and

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the gradual spread of education tends more and more to remove the obstacles which lie in the way of the Diwan's successfully appealing to the passions and prejudices of the proletariat. By the time that the lower classes comprise a considerable leavening which has enjoyed the advantages of the new 'national' education, there will doubtless be a corresponding degree of solidarity visible in the Sikh ranks and circumstances producing any decided co-incidence of interests might at any time sweep away the dividing barrier of Manjha-Malwa jealousy.

24. In the foregoing pages an endeavour has been made to present in connected form the many items of information collected from different sources regarding developments in Sikh politics up to the present time. Most of such items deal with only exceedingly limited portions of the general question and their co-ordination has been a matter of some difficulty.

Mere hearsay evidence has in no single instance been relied on to justify the conclusions that have been arrived at, and it has been regarded as of value only when it was supported by information derived from other independent sources and when its general tenor was clearly in keeping with such facts as are established beyond possibility of dispute. Similarly several reports of markedly alarmist character have been rejected *toto* because even their partial acceptance must give rise to an impression that the situation is far more serious than either the facts before us, or reasonable inferences based on these facts, would justify us in believing it to be. Every effort, too, has been made to avoid putting on hearsay evidence accepted as reliable or on actual facts any strained or unnatural construction which could not be supported by a consideration of past events or a not unduly pessimistic forecast of possible future developments.

Lastly it must be clearly understood that, though all opinions expressed and inferences drawn are believed to be only such as are warranted by the evidence now available, there can be no guarantee that all or any of such opinions and inferences will eventually prove to be correct. The movements described are as yet somewhat inchoate and ill-defined. Moreover Indian, not to say Sikh, politics are in a strangely fluid condition, and what is true to-day may, by a complete derangement of the determining conditions, be totally

untrue to-morrow; and many currents which commence to run strongly in a definite direction seem either automatically to exhaust themselves, or to be counteracted by other cross-currents which run in bewildering numbers beneath an apparently calm surface. All that can be done is to determine in what directions the currents are setting in at a particular time and to point out what dangers may lie ahead; when it is found that such currents have either exhausted themselves or have changed their direction, the new situation so created will then have to be reviewed from a fresh stand-point. The future, therefore, will probably hold much that will necessitate material modification of the views herein expressed regarding the present nature of political movements among the Sikhs.

D. PETRIE,

Assistant Director of Criminal Intelligence

SIMLA,

The 11th August, 1911.

APPENDIX A

LEADING PERSONAGES IN SIKH POLITICS

Attar Singh, Sant

Sant Attar Singh is a Jat Sikh of the Chima caste and a resident of Mastuana on the borders of the Jhind, Nabha and Patiala States. He is said to have served as a sepoy but left the Army to become a fakir. After wandering about for some time he established himself at Kanoha village in the Kallar Police Station of the Rawalpindi District, where he has made a number of disciples and acquired considerable influence. He is said to be a man of little education but is an eloquent and forcible speaker. He has toured extensively in both the Manjha and Malwa tracts as well as in the Sikh States, lecturing on the tenets of Sikhism and exhorting Sikh women to give up the use of ornaments and to become as men. Attar Singh is undoubtedly a man of a strong personality and has built himself up a great reputation as a spiritual leader. He appears to wield a certain mesmeric influence and is regarded with the deepest veneration wherever he goes. In October 1910 he was led through the streets of Patiala seated on an elephant beside the *Granth Sahib*, and was met by the Maharaja and presented with a *Nazar* of Rs. 51. He has also been photographed sitting on a *charpoy* with Sundar Singh Majithia and Atma Singh, a retired Tahsildar, seated on the ground at his feet. Sant Attar Singh is of the *Tat Khalsa* persuasion and is commonly reported to be disloyal. He is said to be in communication with Professor Teja Singh in England, and at the Rawalpindi Education Conference he undertook to contribute to the National Education Fund a sum of Rs. 5000 which he was to raise from his disciples. He is an enthusiast in the cause of the Sikh revival and, owing to his great natural abilities as well as the prestige attaching to him as a spiritual leader, he could readily inspire a spirit of fanaticism among his extensive following. His religious beliefs and his association with the leaders of the neo-Sikh movement are good grounds for regarding his movements and activities with great suspicion.

Harbans Singh of Atari

Harbans Singh is a son of the late Sardar Ajit Singh Atariwala of the well-known Sikh family of Atari in the Amritsar District. He was formerly an Honorary Magistrate but has resigned, it is said, in contempt of Government and its ways. He now devotes himself to touring in the villages and preaching the doctrines of the *Tat Khalsa*. In October 1907 he appears to have made some efforts to bring the Golden Temple under the control of his party; this was opposed by the orthodox Sikhs who feared that, if he were allowed to do as he liked, he would defile the Sikh religion. This man is regarded on every hand as cherishing disloyal views and is believed to be an active and zealous neo-Sikh. He is constantly in the company of Sirdar Sundar Singh Majithia, Trilochan Singh and other advanced Sikhs. He is interested in the *Khalsa Biradari* and is Vice-President of the Chief Khalsa Diwan.

Hari Singh Chima

Hari Singh Chima is a son of Budha Mal, and a resident of Village Mitranwali, Tehsil Daska, Sialkot. He was a student in the Khalsa College, but failed his B A. degree in 1906. He then proceeded to America where he studied Chemistry at the Oregon Agricultural College. While there he wrote an openly seditious article to a local paper, predicting that the day was not far distant when India would revolt against British rule. Returning to India in December 1908, he was appointed second Professor of Science in the Khalsa College about June 1909. He is frequently reported to have spoken seditiously against Government and to be propagating a spirit of disloyalty among the College students. There is also very good reason for believing that he was in touch, if not actually in correspondence, with dangerous extremists in Baroda. He was compelled to resign his post in the Khalsa College and was believed to be responsible for some typed notices posted up at the Khalsa College in March 1911 which were defamatory of Mr. Wright, the Principal. Hari Singh is a man of dangerously advanced political views.

Jagat Singh

Jagat Singh is an Arora of Said Kesran in the Rawalpindi District. He was formerly an Updeshak of the Chief Khalsa Diwan

but, having disregarded a warning against expressing disloyal sentiments, was ordered to resign. In April 1907, he supported Ajit Singh at a meeting in Amritsar where the latter made a seditious speech. He visited Patiala later in the same year, and lecturing on unity praised the Aryas for their sympathy with Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh and regretted that the Sikh nation did not move with the times. He attempted to make a seditious speech at the half-yearly meeting of the Tarn Taran Singh Sabha but was stopped by the President. Jagat Singh is now a free-lance and stamps the country lecturing and showing magic lantern pictures of a political and objectionable nature. There is much on record against him as regards his seditious utterances. He is also the author of the objectionable pictorial broad-sheets referred to in the body of this work, and he did his utmost to push the sale of the nationalistic *Sacha Dhandora* newspaper of Lyallpur. He is known to have visited the Khalsa College and shown his pictures; on such occasions he often stayed with Hari Singh Chima. In the latter part of 1910 Jagat Singh was in Burma collecting money. He is usually in attendance at the Sikh Educational Conference where he displays and sells his pictures. Jagat Singh has all along been an admirer of Ajit Singh and has made no secret of his sentiments which are frankly disloyal.

Jiwan Singh, Bhai

Bhai Jiwan Singh is a *Nihang* (a sect of purists of ultra-Sikh enthusiasm), who resides at Tatta, Police Station *Sarhali*, Amritsar. He is said to have been once employed in the Hong Kong police, but now lives as a *Mahant* and has always several other *Nihangs* about him. He is said to have made *Chelas* or disciples of numerous local blackguards, some twenty of whom usually accompany him when he goes out. He teaches his disciples tent-pegging and quoit-throwing and constantly preaches that the Khalsa will again rule in the Punjab in the very near future.

Jodh Singh, M. A.

Professor Jodh Singh, M. A., is a Jat Sikh of Moga in the Ferozepore District.⁸ After graduating he was employed at various places as

8. Prof. Jodh Singh, son of Bakhshi Ram Singh, was born at Ghungrila, in Rawalpindi district, on May 31, 1882. He did not belong to Moga in the Ferozepore district, as mentioned above.

a teacher, being eventually appointed professor of Mathematics and Divinity in the Khalsa College. As long ago as November 1908 the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar wrote that "Jodh Singh was a man of doubtful loyalty and one of the leaders in opposing the reformation of the Khalsa College institutions." There is a great mass of evidence available to show that Jodh Singh is irreconcilably hostile to the British Government, and the pernicious influence he exercises over the students under him is borne witness to both by independent reporting agencies and by many Government officers who have been in a position to study Khalsa College affairs. He is believed to correspond with extremists abroad, and to receive and circulate in the College the *Talwar* newspaper of Berlin and other organs of the Krishna Varma School of Nationalists. Though strictly a College Professor, Jodh Singh has heretofore spent much of his time in touring the country and lecturing. The many reports of his speeches delivered to students and others portray him as a disaffected man, a persistent preacher of sedition and an enthusiastic neo-Sikh. At the Amritsar Education Conference in 1910, he delivered a speech attacking Government service and Government education. At a speech delivered in the Arorbans Hall, Amritsar, on the 6th December, 1910, he linked the present conditions to the oppressions of Aurangzeb and emphasized the similar need of the sacrifice of heads and property for the sake of religion. Jodh Singh is undoubtedly dangerous

Labh Singh

Labh Singh is a paid preacher of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. He is said to be a son of Sher Singh, *Tarkhan* of Bishandor, Jhelum District. Since 1907 he has attended numerous meetings, lecturing on the usual half-religious, half-political subjects discussed on such occasions. He advocates the following of pure Sikhism and is in favour of merging the lower classes in the general body of the Khalsa. He has published a broad-sheet entitled a hundred years calendar, showing the sufferings of the Sikhs at the hands of the Muhammadans and covertly conveying the idea that they are being subjected to similar unjust oppression at the present time. He is said to spread Sikhism and sedition at the same time. At a meeting held in the Amritsar District in May 1910, he delivered an 'exciting' speech, urging the people to unite and sacrifice their lives as did the Gurus. His headquarters appear to be Jullundur and his operations extend chiefly to the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts and to the Kapurthala State.

Man Singh, B.A.

Man Singh, B.A., is a native of Ambala. He is a political agitator and an intimate of Professor Jodh Singh. In the name of the latter he is reported to have received a copy of the seditious pamphlet "Choose, Oh ! Indian Princes" which was a threat addressed by the Indian Nationalist Party in Europe to chiefs and princes, warning them of the consequences of loyalty to the British Government once Indian independence had been established. The pamphlet was said to be circulated among the members of a secret society in the Khalsa College which is supported by Jodh Singh and Man Singh. It is said that Man Singh corresponds with revolutionaries in America, Paris and England. He is a friend of Harnam Singh, Barrister-at-law, and the like him is said to exercise an evil influence on the Khalsa College students he comes in contact with. He has recently qualified as a pleader and will practise in Ambala.

Narain Singh

Narain Singh is Head Master of the Khalsa College School in Amritsar. In March 1910 he attended a meeting at which rebellious and revolutionary schemes are said to have been discussed. He is a man of the same type as Hari Singh Chima and Man Singh, B.A. Speaking of Narain Singh in 1910, the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar wrote that he was "commonly supposed to be one of the leading sedition-mongers in the place and considered very dangerous by Cole" (the Principal). It was Narain Singh's School that was visited by the Government Inspector in July 1910, when that official discovered a master reading Macauliffe's History of the Sikhs, when he should have been teaching arithmetic, and the photograph of the 'martyr' Lachman Singh, the Gujranwala murderer, being passed round among the pupils.

Sadhu Singh, Rai Bahadur

Rai Bahadur Sadhu Singh is a retired Extra Deputy Conservator of Forests who is at present employed in the Jammu State. He is an Arora by caste and is a native of Amritsar where his father was employed at the Golden Temple. He is a devoted adherent of the Chief Khalsa Diwan and it is said that wherever he has been stationed he has managed to found a Singh Sabha. In November 1907 he attended a meeting at Ferozepore where the lecturers were Jodh Singh, M.A., and Harbans Singh. He has been on various occasions mentioned as

having given utterance to disloyal sentiments, though with what amount of truth is doubtful. Early in 1909 he was appointed Superintendent of the Chief Khalsa Orphanage and in August of the same year attended the Jullundur meeting and assisted at the reclamation of the low castes. He also seconded a motion advocating their more general admission into Sikhism. He associates a good deal with Vir Singh of Amritsar and is said to enjoy considerable influence with Sirdar Sundar Singh Majithia. He is undoubtedly of the *Tat Khalsa* party and carries some weight in its councils. He is generally said not to be disloyal.

Sirdar Sundar Singh Majithia

Sirdar Sunder Singh belongs to a branch of the well known family of Majitha near Amritsar. He is the most notable and influential figure in Manjha Sikh politics at the present time. He has served on the Legislative Council of the Governor-General and is at present a nominated member of the Punjab Legislative Council. He may be regarded as the founder of the Chief Khalsa Diwan and has been Secretary of that body since its institution. He has long been Secretary of the Khalsa College and was re-appointed Secretary to the Managing Committee after the re-organisation of 1908. *As regards his loyalty to Government, he must be judged chiefly by his deeds, though in some quarters he is unhesitatingly described as disloyal.* More often he is depicted as a man of weak and irresolute character who is completely in the hands of the powerful Arora element which at present is predominant in the Chief Khalsa Diwan. His conduct of Khalsa College affairs prior to 1908 gave great dissatisfaction to the Sikh States by which his influence for good was openly questioned. Later, the tone of the College which is largely managed by him has gone from bad to worse. His constant associates are such men as Harbans Singh, Jodh Singh, M.A., Vir Singh and Trilochan Singh pleader. He has toured in company with Jodh Singh, Hari Singh Chima, Teja Singh and other people as to whose disloyalty there can be little doubt. When his son was married in the Ambala District in February 1911, the wedding party comprised, among others, the following: Trilochan Singh, Harbans Singh, Khazan Singh (of Rawalpindi riots fame), Harnam Singh, the seditious barrister, Vir Singh, Man Singh, B.A., Jodh Singh and some others of the same kidney. He is said to have been behind the *Khalsa Biradari* movement and it is certain he attended the Jullun-

dur meeting of August 1909. He is undoubtedly of the *Tat Khalsa* persuasion and has quarrelled with Sirdar Arur Singh of the Golden Temple.

His profession of the *Tat Khalsa* faith, his choice of an associate, his indifferences to the growing spirit of disloyalty in the Khalsa College, are all matters which must be taken into account in forming an estimate of his character. If he is not disloyal, he is at least apathetic in the discharge of his obligations to Government to a degree which is equally culpable with open disloyalty. He has been photographed at the feet of Sant Attar Singh, a prominent *Tat Khalsa* spiritual leader. He is the chief organiser of the Sikh Educational Conference and he listened without remonstrance to Jodh Singh's objectionable speech in the Conference of 1910. He it was, too, who appealed for the formation of a National Education Fund in the Rawalpindi session of 1911. Sundar Singh has influential connections in the Sikh States. His eldest son is married to a cousin of the Maharaja of Patiala, and one of his daughters to the minor Raja of Faridkot. Of his other two sons, one is betrothed to the daughter of Sardar Joginder Singh, Home Minister of Patiala, and the other to the daughter of Sardar Bhagel Singh Kamla, who owns property in Oudh.

Teja Singh

Teja Singh is an Arora who is employed as Inspector of Singh Sabhas under the Chief Khalsa Diwan. He is a resident of Indarki, Rawalpindi District.

In 1907, he took part at meetings in which disloyal sentiments were uttered. He has long been mentioned as being friendly with the Arya Samajists and he is said to be desirous of bringing about an understanding between them and his own community. He is described as remarkably sharp witted and 'slim,' and he is said to be usually deputed to places that are believed to require 'awakening.' He is given to harping on the martial side of Sikhism but would apparently be favourable to a union of Indians generally. He is believed to be thoroughly disloyal.

Thakur Singh Gyani

Thakur Singh Gyani is the son of a Nirmala Sadhu and is said to be a resident of the Jullundur Doaba. He is believed to have been employed in some regiment, and later become a *Granthi* at Rawalpindi.

Subsequently he came to Amritsar and was appointed a teacher in the Khalsa College, but after a time gave it up to tour the country collecting subscriptions for various religious objects. He is said to have been concerned in the Dalip Singh agitation, and more recently has devoted himself to the cause of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. He has delivered a number of questionable lectures in the Guru-ka-bagh at Amritsar and contends that the tenets and doctrines of the Sikh religion do not prohibit the conversion of men of other castes to Sikhism. He has lectured in company with Hari Singh Chima, praising the sons of Guru Gobind Singh for sacrificing their lives for their religion. He lectured at the Amritsar Singh Sabha in July 1911 holding up to admiration the ancient Sikhs for their devotion to religion and their disregard of life.

Trilochan Singh

Trilochan Singh is an Arora by caste and a son of Seva Singh, a retired Deputy Collector in the Irrigation Department. He practises as a pleader at Amritsar, but lately has given most of his time to the Punjab Sindh Bank of which he is manager. Trilochan Singh represents the Sikh graduates on the Council of the Khalsa College and is also a member of the Managing Committee of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. Trilochan Singh was accused by the Tikka Sahib of Nabha as one of the persons chiefly responsible for the mis-management of the Khalsa College and the disloyalty of its students. Moreover, his name is persistently mentioned as one of the leading spirits in the neo-Sikh movement and *he is universally regarded as a thoroughly disaffected man*. He is very intimate with Harbans Singh and Vir Singh, and is said to exercise much influence over Sirdar Sundar Singh Majithia. He is undoubtedly one of the school of very advanced Sikh politicians and his fertile brain is said to devise many of the social and educational schemes which are taken up by the Chief Khalsa Diwan. *Trilochan Singh is a thoroughly disloyal man whose ability and influence combine to render him dangerous.*

Vir Singh, Bhai

Bhai Vir Singh is the son of Charan Singh, who used to practise as a doctor but never qualified. He was first employed in the office of the Tract Society under Trilochan Singh, and afterwards became a partner in the *Wazir-i-Hind* Press which he is now said to own. He is Editor and Manager of the *Khalsa Samachar*, a Gurmukhi

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journal, which is published at Amritsar. Vir Singh is mentioned from many sources as a leading figure in the Sikh revival and as disloyal to the core. The same opinion is entertained of him by local officers. Like Trilochan Singh, he is one of the astute Aroras who seem for the present to have the controlling voice in the councils of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. Vir Singh has much influence over Sirdar Sundar Singh and is very intimate with Trilochan Singh. He is also a cousin of Harnam Singh, the barrister of India House fame. He is reported to be making overtures to the Head Granthi of the Golden Temple with a view to bringing that institution under the control of the neo-Sikh party. He also associates with Harnam Singh, Jodh Singh, M.A., and other persons of similar character. At present he has complete control of the Khalsa Tract Society. He is a member of the council of the Khalsa College. Vir Singh is said to have acquired considerable wealth without any apparent cause and this gives some vitals of that institution. Though Vir Singh was originally a man of a no position, he seems to have acquired for himself the position of a Guru and obeisance has been done to him even by Sirdar Sundar Singh. He may safely be regarded as a zealous neo-Sikh and thoroughly anti-British.

APPENDIX B

General List of persons believed to be interested in the *Tat Khalsa* movement or to be unorthodox in their religious views. Those marked * are regarded as holding 'advanced' views.

A

- *AJIT SINGH, Sirdar, Judge, Patiala Chief Court; brother of Chanda Singh, Ferozpur.
- *AMAR SINGH, B. A., Amritsar; ex-Editor of the *Khalsa Advocate* newspaper.
- *AMIR SINGH, Preacher, *Khalsa Biradari*.
- AMRIK SINGH, Superintendent of the Orphanage at Lambahar, Gujranwala.
- ARJAN SINGH of Bagrian, Ludhiana District; President of Central Khalsa Diwan, and formerly of the Chief Khalsa Diwan.
- ASA SINGH, Updeshak; used to live at Misra Singh's *Dera*, Amritsar; now of Peshawar.
- *ATMA SINGH, Retired Tehsildar, Amritsar.
- *ATTAR SINGH, Sant, of Mastuana.

B

- *BACHAN SINGH, Pleader, Ludhiana.
- BAKSHISH SINGH, companion of Babu Teja Singh, Bhasor; is a graduate of the Tarn Tarn Preachers' school and said to be employed in the Army or Reserve.
- BAGHEL SINGH of Manhala, Lahore.
- *BAKSHISH SINGH, Jemadar, 12th Cavalry; of Ludhiana District.
- *BALWANT SINGH, Acting Inspector-General of Police, Patiala.
- *BALWANT SINGH, of Khurdpur, Jullundur; recently returned from America.
- *BALWANT SINGH, Subedar Major, 23rd Sikh Pioneers; Sohal, Gurdaspur District.
- BASANT SINGH, Pandit, ex-tutor to the Maharaja of Patiala.
- *BASANT SINGH, Pensioned Risaldar of the 30th Cavalry; of Nowshera Punawan, Amritsar; opposed to the Arora element in Chief Khalsa Diwan; is of *Tat* sympathies.
- BASANT SINGH, Subedar, 34th Pioneers.

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BASANT SINGH, Pleader, Jullundur.

BASANT SINGH, Jemadar, 34th Pioneers.

*BHAGWAN SINGH, Sirdar, Judge, Chief Court, Patiala.

BHAGWAN SINGH, Warang, Amritsar District; a preacher and fire-brand.

*BISHAN SINGH, Contractor, Ludhiana.

BISHAN SINGH, Deputy Collector, Canal Department; said to be a follower of Vir Singh.

BISHAN SINGH, President, Khalsa Diwan, Chak No. 213, R. B., Lyallpur.

BISHAN SINGH, Lambardar, 67 J. B., Lyallpur Tehsil.

BISHAN SINGH, disciple of Sant Attar Singh.

*BUDH SINGH, Book-seller of Darshni Darwaza, Amritsar; a friend of Vir Singh.

BUTA SINGH *Granthi*, Member of the *Khalsa Biradari*.

C

*CHANDA SINGH, Pleader, Ferozpur; is blind.

CHANDA SINGH, B.A., Master; late of the Rawalpindi Girls School; is said to be opposed to Government service; supposed to be in America.

CHANDA SINGH, Colonel, Patiala.

D

DALIP SINGH, Assistant Surgeon, of Bedha, District Amritsar; stationed at Sialkot and of *Tat Khalsa* sympathies.

DALJIT SINGH, Kunwar, of Kapurthala, Jullundur, attended the Jullundur meeting of 1st August 1909; is thoroughly loyal.

*DEVA SINGH, Secretary, Singh Sabha, Amritsar.

*DHARAM SINGH, Sirdar, retired Executive Engineer, Gujranwala; it was on his account that the European Engineer, who succeeded him in charge of the Khalsa College building, met with a hostile reception from the students.

*DHARAM SINGH, Usman, Amritsar, Member, Manjha Diwan.

DIWAN SINGH, Dr., Sodhi of Fazilka, Ferozpur, supports the Sikh Educational Conference and is a worker of Sodhi Sujan Singh.

*DIWAN SINGH, Dr., of Hoti Mardan.

*DYAL SINGH, Updeshak of the Manjha Diwan; advocates Swadeshism and military training for Sikhs; opposes the Arora element in the Chief Khalsa Diwan.

G

GABINDAR SINGH, Private Secretary, Nabha.

*GAJJAN SINGH, Pleader, Ludhiana; has been an Arya.

GONDA SINGH, Resaldar, 12th Cavalry.

GOPAL SINGH, Peshawar, maternal brother of Harnam Singh, Barrister-at-Law; frequently visits Head-Granthi Fateh Singh; is believed to be an agent of Bhai Vir Singh.

GULAB SINGH, disciple of Sant Attar Singh.

*GULAB SINGH, Pensioned Jemadar of Jhabal, Amritsar.

GURBACHAN SINGH, *Granthi*, Golden Temple.

GURBAKHSI SINGH, Pandit, Updeshak of the *Daswandh* committee, Patiala.

GURBAKHSI SINGH, Secretary, Singh Sabha, Gujar Khan, Rawalpindi.

GURBAKHSI SINGH, Vakil, Sialkot.

GURBAKHSI SINGH Gyani, Bhai, Barrister-at-Law, Amritsar.

*GURDIT SINGH, Retired Subedar of 47th Sikhs; of Dhotian near Kairon, Taran Taran; Member of the Manjha Sub-Committee and supports the Chief Khalsa Diwan.

GURDIT SINGH, Retired Subedar-Major, late of Malay States Guides, of Dhotian Amritsar; is devoted to social and religious reform.

GURDIT SINGH, Retired Risaldar Major, 12th Cavalry, of Gholia Kalan, Ferozepore; said to be a keen nationalist and devoted to the spread of the *Tat Khalsa* principles in his regiment; father of Gonda Singh above.

*GURDIT SINGH, Ex-Prime Minister, Patiala State.

*GURDEO SINGH, Head of a Sikh community of some 3,000 persons in Sasaram, Bengal; is interested in the revival and corresponds with the Chief Khalsa Diwan.

*GURDYAL SINGH, Dr., of Nabha.

*GURDYAL SINGH, Sirdar, Ex-Divisional Judge, Punjab; is father-in-law of the Tikka Sahib of Nabha.

*GURMUKH SINGH, KHATRI, land-owner of Rawalpindi city; a son of Sher Singh Bawalia.

GYAN SINGH *alias* BUDH SINGH, of Nowshera Punawan, Amritsar; an Updeshak of the Amritsar Singh Sabha.

H

*HUKAM SINGH, SIRDAR, President, Montgomery Singh Sabha, an associate of the seditious Amritsar party and said to be an advocate of violence.

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- HARCHAND SINGH Lyallpuri, Chak No. 200 R. B.
- *HARDIT SINGH, Ex-Editor of the *Sachha Dhandora* newspaper of Lyallpur, a resident of the Rawalpindi District.
- *HARI SINGH, Ex Professor, Khalsa College.
- HARI SINGH, disciple of Sant Attar Singh, Mastuana.
- *HARKISHEN SINGH, son of Partab Singh, Octroi Superintendent of Lahore; said to be a close friend of Jodh Singh.
- HARNAM SINGH, Preacher, Ferozepore.
- *HARNAM SINGH, Updeshak of Batala, Gurdaspur; is said to belong secretly to the Arya Samaj.
- HARNAM SINGH, Superintendent, Sikh Orphanage, Ram Bagh Gate, Amritsar.
- HARNAM SINGH, Katra Ramgarhian, Amritsar; is interested in the *Khalsa Biradari*.
- HARNAM SINGH, Atewala, Lahore, a follower of Sodhi Sujan Singh of Patiala.
- HARNAM SINGH, Jemadar, 34th Pioneers.
- *HARNAM SINGH, Dr., Amritsar.
- *HARNAM SINGH, Barrister-at-Law, Amritsar.
- HARNAM SINGH, Mahant of Ber-Baba-Nanak, Sialkot.
- HARPAL SINGH, Student of the Updeshak School, Taran Taran; a native of Nabha.
- HAZARA SINGH, Supervisor, District Board, Lyallpur.
- *HAZARA SINGH, Ahluwalia; holds 20 squares of land given as a jagir to his father; lives in the Samundri Tehsil, in a Chak on the Russiana Rajbaha, Lyallpur.
- HIRA SINGH, *Ragi*, of Amritsar.

I

- INDAR SINGH, Subedar, 34th Pioneers.
- INDAR SINGH, Jemadar, 34th Pioneers.
- INDAR SINGH, Ferozpur, a Preacher of Bhai Takht Singh's on behalf of the Ferozpur Girls School.
- *ISHAR SINGH, Master; head of the Updeshak Vidyalaya or Preachers' School, Tarn Taran; has travelled in China and Burma; said to be seditious.
- *ISHAR SINGH, Zaildar of Salarwala, Lyallpur.

J

- *JAGAN NATH, First Science Master, Khalsa College; advocates physical, cultural and the study of chemistry; seditious.

- *JAGAT SINGH, Updeshak, Lyallpur.
 JAGAT SINGH, Jemadar, 12th Cavalry, of Khadur, District Amritsar, was educated at the Khalsa College.
 JAGAT SINGH, Dr., of Rawalpindi.
 *JAI SINGH, Clerk to Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia; had in his possession the seditious broad-sheets received from Lyallpur.
 JAWALA SINGH, of Greenkot; Lahore.
 *JHANDA SINGH, Updeshak of Raja Sansi, Amritsar; has spoken against Government's interference in the Khalsa College and uttered disloyal sentiments, is a tailor by profession.
 JHANDA SINGH, Pleader, Ambala.
 Jiwan Mukta, Female preacher of Jammu.
 JIWAN SINGH, Contractor, Patiala.
 JIWAN SINGH, Schoolmaster, Jullundur.
 *JIWAN SINGH, Late Diwan, Patiala, a go-between of the Maharaja and ex-wazir Gurdit Singh; disloyal.
 JIWAN SINGH, Contractor, No. 210 R. B., Lyallpur.
 *JODH SINGH, M.A., Professor, Khalsa College.
 JOGINDAR SINGH, of the Resulpuria family, Amritsar; is Home Minister of Patiala; said to be a double-dealer, of *Tat Khalsa* sympathies and a follower of Vir Singh, has actively interested himself in the Sikh Educational Conference and the National Educational Fund. Commonly resides at Kheri, Oudh.

K

- KAHN SINGH, Bhai, of Nabha; said to be a double-dealer and really disloyal.
 KALYAN SINGH, disciple of Sant Attar Singh of Mastuana.
 *KARAM SINGH, B.A., Jat of Chabhal, Tarn Taran, Amritsar; was collecting material for a history of the Sikhs; has now been summoned to Patiala to write a history of the State.
 KARAM SINGH, Dr., of Lahore; Assistant Medical Officer, of *Tat Khalsa* sympathies.
 KARTAR SINGH, of Amritsar, a paid preacher of the Chief Khalsa Diwan.
 KARTAR SINGH, of Sasaram, Bengal, paid preacher of the Chief Khalsa Diwan.
 KARTAR SINGH, Jemadar, 12th Cavalry, of Lidhar, Ludhiana.
 KARTAR SINGH, Preacher, Lahore Singh Sabha.
 *KARTAR SINGH, of Ferozepore, a preacher of the Sikh Girls School;

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advocates the abolition of caste restrictions; is described as a 'Philosopher', is almost blind.

KEHAR SINGH, Barrister-at-Law, Ludhiana

KEHAR SINGH, Preacher of the Chief Khalsa Diwan at Sasaram, Bengal; said to be a medium of communication between the Sikhs and Bengalis.

*KESAR SINGH, of Multan, author of the book *Japan Ki Taraqqi*.

*KHARAK SINGH, Pleader, Lahore; is interested in the Sikh Educational Conference and a follower of Sodhi Sujan Singh; seems to be opposed to the Arora element in the Chief Khalsa Diwan.

*KHAZAN SINGH, Barrister, Lyallpur; an accused in the Rawalpindi riots case.

KISHAN SINGH, Jemadar, 12th Cavalry.

KISHAN SINGH, of Pakho, Ludhiana; Assistant Secretary, Patiala.

KISHAN SINGH, Dr., Lyallpur.

L

LABH SINGH, Jullundur; a paid preacher of the Chief Khalsa Diwan.

LABH SINGH, of Kahoota, Rawalpindi, and paid preacher of the Chief Khalsa Diwan.

LABH SINGH, Teacher, Khalsa High School, Lyallpur.

*LACHMAN SINGH, Ahluwalia, Inspector of Schools and a native of the Rawalpindi District; has been an Arya.

*LAKHMIR SINGH, of Jullundur; a converted Musalman whose name was formerly Munshi Karim Bakhsh; said to be 'the teacher' of Vir Singh.

LAKHA SINGH, of Kila Didar Singh, Gujranwala; lives in the Akal Bunga, Amritsar; is said to lecture to Imperial Service Troops,

LAL SINGH, Updeshak; an Arora of Montgomery.

*LAL SINGH, Gyani, of Katra Ramgarhian, Amritsar, paid preacher of the Chief Khalsa Diwan.

*LAL SINGH, Timber merchant, Lahore.

*LAL SINGH, Dharamsala, Lyallpur city.

M

MADHO SINGH, Deputed Agent of the Chief Khalsa Diwan at Sasaram, Bengal.

MAGHAR SINGH, Subedar, 34th, Pioneers.

MAHTAB SINGH, Barrister-at-Law, Ferozepur.

MAN SINGH, B. A., of Ambala.

MAN SINGH, Pandit, Resident of Daraj, Ferozpur; preaches the Sikh revival.

MAN SINGH, Manager, Singh Sabha, Patiala.

MANGAL SINGH, Jamadar, 34th Pioneers.

*MEHR SINGH, Chawla, Lahore, a supporter of the *Khalsa Baradari* attended the Jullundur meeting for the reclamation of low-castes on 1st August 1909.

*MEHRBAN SINGH, Preacher, of Patiala.

MEHTAB SINGH, Editor of the *Bir* Newspaper, Amritsar; was Secretary of the *Khalsa Biradari*.

*MIHAN SINGH, Contractor, Nabha; was in correspondence with Ajit Singh.

MOHAN SINGH, Assistant Engineer, Patiala; uncle of Sodhi Sujan Singh.

*MOHAN SINGH, Vaid, of Tarn Taran; attended the Jullundur meeting; a friend of Ishar Singh.

MOHAN SINGH, Vakil, Sialkot.

MOHAN SINGH, Malik, Rawalpindi, a co-worker of Sodhi Sujan Singh.

MUL SINGH, President of the Bar Diwan, Lyallpur.

MULA SINGH, of Chak No. 169, Gujranwala District; delivered a seditious speech at Ludhiana.

MUNDAR SINGH, Jemadar, 34th Pioneers.

N

NAGINA SINGH, Assistant Superintendent of the Chief Khalsa Diwan Orphanage, Amritsar; an Advocate of Swadeshism.

*NARAIN SINGH, Head Master, Khalsa College School, Amritsar.

NARAIN SINGH, Mahant, Pujari, Golden Temple, Amritsar.

*NARAIN SINGH, Dr., formerly employed on the North-Western Railway; now of the Sikh Girls School, Ferozpur.

NARAIN SINGH, Tour Superintendent to the Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, of *Tat Khalsa* sympathies.

*NARAIN SINGH, London, who is collecting funds for the Sikh Dharamsala there; helped by Sirdar Sundar Singh and Jodh Singh; was recently in India when he attended the Rawalpindi Educational Conference; is said to have spoken against Government.

*NARANJAN SINGH, Dr., of Dakha, Ludhiana; Assistant Physician to the Maharaja of Patiala.

NARINJAN SINGH, Secretary, Peshawar Singh Sabha.

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NARINJAN SINGH, Diwan, Patiala; son of the late Sirdar Gurmukh Singh, President of the Council.

NATHA SINGH, Subedar, 34th Pioneers.

NATHA SINGH (II), Subedar, 34th Pioneers.

NIHAL SINGH, Bhai, Secretary of the *Khalsa Biradari*.

NIHAL SINGH, Professor Khalsa College.

*NIHAL SINGH, Diwan, Nabha.

P

PARDUMAN SINGH, Bawa, pleader; attended the meeting of 1st August 1909; is now in Lahore.

PARTAB SINGH, Tehsildar, Octroi Department Lahore; a supporter of the Sikh Educational Conference and a co-worker of Sodhi Sujan Singh.

*PIRTHIPAL SINGH, Raja, adopted son of Rani Rustam Kaur, a direct connection of Ranjit Singh; owns land in Toba Tek Singh and in Gujranwala.

PRITAM SINGH, Subedar, 23rd Pioneers; of Majitha, Amritsar, is interested in the *Tat Khalsa* movement.

*PRITAM SINGH, Sirdar, ex-Commander-in-Chief, Patiala; at present at Dehra Dun.

R

*RAM KAUR, Mussamat, female preacher of the Chief Khalsa Diwan; has made disloyal speeches to the Sikh women.

RAM SINGH, Preacher, *Khalsa Biradari*.

RAM SINGH, Jamadar, 34th Pioneers.

RAM SINGH, Mahant; head of the *Nirmala Akhara*, Harike, Amritsar, District.

RANBIR SINGH, Khatri, Lahore; preacher of the *Khalsa Biradari*; has married the daughter of a Mazhabi Subedar of the Lyallpur District.

RANBIR SINGH, His real name is said to be Basant Singh, M.A., is alleged to have resigned Govt. service and to be spreading sedition. His present whereabouts are unknown.

S

SADHU SINGH, Rai Bahadur, retired Extra Deputy Conservator of Forests, Amritsar, is of *Tat Khalsa* sympathies

- SAJAN SINGH, of Rurke, Ludhiana; an agent of Vir Singh.
- SANGAT SINGH, Jamadar, 48th Pioneers.
- SANT SINGH, Pensioned Subedar of Rasulpur, Amritsar; member of the Manjha Diwan and interested in the Tarn Taran Updeshaks' School; opposed to the Arora element, in the Chief Khalsa Diwan.
- *SANT SINGH, Bhai, paid preacher of the Chief Khalsa Diwan; now at the Sikh Kanya Pathshala, Chunian, Lahore District.
- SANT SINGH, Gurmukhi teacher, Government High School, Sialkot.
- SANT SINGH, Kasur; an advocate of the conversion of low-class Sikhs; said to be bigoted and fanatical.
- SANT SINGH, Subedar, 34th Pioneers.
- SANT SINGH, Sirdar, of Chak No. 207, R. B., Lyallpur, Secretary of the Khalsa Diwan Bar.
- SANTA SINGH, Jemadar, 12th Cavalry.
- SARUP SINGH, General, Patiala.
- SEWA SINGH, Retired Deputy Collector, Irrigation Department, Amritsar; father of Trilochan Singh.
- *SEWA SINGH, Pleader, Rawalpindi; attended the Jullundur meeting.
- *SHAM SINGH, Baba, Amritsar; resides at Sobha Ram's dharamsala and is said to exercise a sort of mesmeric power over his followers.
- SHIVDEO SINGH, Sirdar, Honorary Magistrate of Sialkot; has invited the Educational Conference of 1912 to meet there.
- *SIRNAGAT SINGH, of Ambala; a son of Sardar Atma Singh retired Tehsildar, Amritsar.
- SOBHA SINGH Woordie-Major, 12th Cavalry.
- *SOHAN SINGH, Son of Ladha Singh, of Amritsar, editor of the defunct *Sher-i-Babar* newspaper which was run by Ajit Singh's party.
- *SOHAN SINGH Rahi, Manager, Sher-i-Babar Soap Company, Gujranwala; author of the pamphlet *Sikh Vidya Utte Lekh*.
- *SUCHET SINGH, Editor, of the *Dodhara Khanda* newspaper, Amritsar; a common scoundrel.
- *SUJAN SINGH, Sodhi, Foreign Minister, Patiala State; interested in the Sikh Educational Conference; believed to be disloyal; was at the Jullundur meeting.
- *SUNDAR SINGH, Majithia, Sirdar Bahadur, of Amritsar.
- SUNDAR SINGH son of Hazura Singh; Member of the Lyallpur Municipal Committee; a leading spirit in the Khalsa Diwan

Bar, and President of the Singh Sabha.

*SUNDAR SINGH, 2nd Master, Khalsa College

*SUNDAR SINGH, formerly of the Khalsa School, Lyallpur; author of the objectionable pamphlet *Ki Khalsa Kalaj Sikhan Da Hai?*; now a teacher in the Khalsa School at Sangla.

SUNDAR SINGH, Colonel, Patiala; President of the 'Daswand Committee' which enjoins on every Sikh to give one-tenth of his income for the common good.

SUNDAR SINGH, Bhai, Lecturer of the Chief Khalsa Diwan.

SURAIN SINGH, A preacher, at present in Calcutta; said to be a great enthusiast and enemy of Government; reported to intend to proceed to America on a preaching tour shortly.

*SURAJ SINGH, Editor of the defunct *Press* newspaper of Ferozepore; translator into Gurmukhi of Ajit Singh's pamphlet, *Hindustan Men Angrezi Hukumat*.

*SURJAN SINGH, An employee of the Punjab Sindh Bank, Amritsar; interested in the Educational Conference.

T

TARA SINGH, B. A., a Science Master in the Khalsa College; distributed Jagat Singh's broad-sheets.

TARA SINGH, Granthi, of the 40th (48th ?) Pioneers; said to spread *Tat Khalsa* doctrines.

TARA SINGH, Liquor Licensee, Lahore.

TARA SINGH, Head Master, Khalsa School, Lyallpur.

TAHIL SINGH, Tarkhan, Carpenter of Gurdaspur; an overseer of canals under construction in the Gurdaspur district; said to be a nationalist and enemy of Government.

*TEJA SINGH, Babu, of Bhasor, Patiala, where he is Sub-Divisional Officer; an active enthusiast in the cause of the Sikh revival; said to be a favourite of the Maharaja.

*TEJA SINGH, Inspector, Chief Khalsa Diwan.

*TEJA SINGH, Professor, a Mehta Khatri of Gujranwala; has spent some time in England and was mixed up in Sikh agitation in Canada; is now in California.

*TEJA SINGH, Sant, of Gujranwala; a paid preacher of the Sikh Girls School at Ferozepur, where he was taken on by Bhai Takht Singh; has been on a preaching tour in Bengal.

THAKUR SINGH, Pensioned Subedar of Lel, near Batala, Gurdaspur.

formerly of the Malay States Guides; under the influence of the Diwan started at Lel by Inspector Teja Singh; spends his time as a social and religious reformer among the Jats.

THAKUR SINGH, Superintendent, Boarding Home, Khalsa College.

THAKUR SINGH, Ahluwalia of Rawalpindi; a co-worker of Sodhi Sujan Singh.

THAKUR SINGH, Ex-Subedar, interested in the Updeshak School, Tarn Taran, a supporter of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. and disliked by the party of Sant Singh of Rasulpur.

THAMAN SINGH, Jemadar, 34th Pioneers.

*TRILOCHAN SINGH, Pleader, Amritsar.

U

UDHAM SINGH, Jemadar, 12th Cavalry.

*UDHAM SINGH, Headmaster, High School, Pindi Gheb, Rawalpindi; a friend of Hari Singh Chima.

*UDE SINGH, Bedi of Gunachaur, Jullundur district; formerly of Faridkot and now visits Patiala and Nabha; spoke on female education at the Rawalpindi Conference and attempted to recite a seditious poem.

UJAGAR SINGH Bedi, brother of Gurbakhsh Singh Bedi, of Kallar, Rawalpindi; appears to have broken with his brother and the pro-Hindu party and to have thrown in his lot with the Chief Khalsa Diwan; was President of the Reception Committee at the Rawalpindi Conference.

UJAGAR SINGH, Pleader of Lahore, attended the Jullundur meeting.

UTTAM, SINGH, Sirdar, Pleader, Jullundur.

V

*VIR SINGH, Bhai, of Sur Singh, Lahore, said to be devoted to the cause of the revival.

*VIR SINGH, editor of the *Panjabi Bhain* newspaper, of Ferozepur; at present manager of the Sikh Girls School during absence of Bhai Takht Singh.

*VIR SINGH, Bhai, of *Khalsa Samachar* newspaper, of Amritsar.

W

WAZIR SINGH, of Amritsar, an Updeshak.

APPENDIX C

List of Members of the General Committee of the Chief Khalsa Diwan of Amritsar

1. Professor Teja Singh, M. A., formerly in England; now in California (America).
2. Bhai Surjan Singh of Amritsar, Manager, Sindh-Punjab Bank, Amritsar.
3. Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh of Majitha.
4. Sardar Arbel Singh.
5. Bhai Ram Rakha Singh of Amritsar, Head Clerk, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar.
6. Bhai Mohan Singh, Vaid of Tarn Taran, editor of the *Dookh-Nawaran* journal, Tarn Taran (Amritsar).
7. Bhai Tara Singh, B. A., Head Master, Khalsa High School, Lyallpur.
8. Bhai Amar Singh, formerly editor of the *Khalsa Advocate*.
9. Bhai Man Singh, B. A., Pleader, Ambala.
10. Sirdar Gurdit Singh, of Raipur in the Ludhiana district.
11. Bhai Bagh Singh Gyani, who formerly used to reside at Peshawar; now attached to the *Panch Khalsa Diwan*, Gujranwala.
12. Bhai Sharm Singh, contractor, Gujranwala.
13. Sirdar Tirath Singh of Gharjakh, Gujranwala.
14. Bhai Tara Singh, B. A., Khalsa College, Amritsar.
15. Bhai Ishar Singh, at present employed as Manager of the *Updeshak Vidyalaya*, Tarn Taran.
16. Dr. Jagat Singh, Medical Hall, Rawalpindi.
17. Bhai Jodh Singh, M. A., Professor, Khalsa College, Amritsar.
18. Sardar Wariam Singh, Sufedposh, Contractor, Bannu.
19. Sardar Harnam Singh, Rais of Gharjakh, Gujranwala.
20. Sardar Bachan Singh, Pleader, Ludhiana.
21. Captain Sardar Man Singh, Sardar Bahadur, of Village Khotay, Ferozepur.
22. Sardar Bhahel Singh, Rais of Kulla, District Lahore.

23. Sardar Bishan Singh, B. A., Sialkot, now a pleader at Ferozepore.
24. Sodhi Sujjan Singh, B. A., of Patiala.
25. Bhai Mohinder Singh, of Amritsar, Contractor.
26. Bakhshi Jhanda Singh, Pensioner, of Patiala.
27. Master Sundar Singh, B. A., 2nd Master, Khalsa College, Amritsar.
28. Sardar Gurmukh Singh, B.A., Assistant Engineer, Jammu State.
29. Master Baga Singh, B. A., Board School, Campbellpore.
30. Bhai Takhat Singh of Ferozepur.
31. Bhai Arjan Singh, Rais of Bagrian, District Ludhiana.
32. Sardar Dharam Singh, Rais of Gharjakh, Gujranwala.
33. Sardar Ram Singh, Pensioner, Subedar-Major, 67th Punjabis.
34. Babu Jagat Singh, of village Saiyid, Rawalpindi.
35. Sardar Kahan Singh of Nabha.
36. Bakhshi Jaswant Singh, of Kauntrila, Rawalpindi, Risaldar. Central India Horse.
37. Sardar Sher Singh, Railway Supervisor, Kotri.
38. Babu Tehal Singh of Gurdaspur, overseer, Dhariwal Canal.
39. Sardar Mehar Singh of Lahore, General Wine Merchant.
40. Sardar Kishen Singh, Contractor, Parachinar.
41. Sardar Jogindar Singh, Rais of Rasulpur, at present employed as Home Minister, Patiala State.
42. Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh, Assistant Superintendent Telegraphs, Akoka, Berar.
43. Sardar Suchet Singh, overseer, Muttra.
44. Sardar Khazan Singh, Tehsildar, Rawalpindi.
45. Sardar Karam Singh, Plague Medical Officer, Lahore,
46. Sardar Ladha Singh.
47. Bhai Prem Singh, Clerk, D. T. S. Office., now dead.
48. Babu Sundar Singh, Budge Budge, Bengal
49. Bhai Santokh Singh, Teacher, Upedshak School, Gharjakh, Gujranwala.
50. Sardar Kabul Singh, Head Clerk, Deputy Commissioner's Office, Sibi.
51. Dr. Daleep Singh, Assistant Surgeon, Sialkot.
52. Bhai Lal Singh of Garhi Yasin, Sindh.
53. Sardar Bahadur Singh Risaldar, Mardan.
54. Sardar Bachan Singh, Pleader, Ludhiana.

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55. Sardar Nanak Singh, Rais, Bhadaur.
56. Sardar Shivdev Singh, of Sialkote.
57. Bhai Kartar Singh, Chak Santokhgarh, Lyallpur; is a doctor.
58. Pensioned Subedar Thakar Singh of Lel, district Gurdaspur.
59. Captain Gurdit Singh (deceased).
60. Sardar Harbans Singh of Attari.
61. Rai Bahadur Sadhu Singh of Amritsar, at present, employed as Chief Forest Officer of Jammu.
62. Bhai Hira Singh, Ragi, Khalsa School, Phirooka, Shahpur.
63. Sardar Arjan Singh of Chak Ramdas, Shahpur.
64. Rai Sahib Dr. Diwan Singh of Mardan.
65. Bhai Lal Singh, Timber Merchant, Lahore.
66. Bhai Sundar Singh Chawla, Timber Merchant, Lyallpur.
67. Sardar Atma Singh of Amritsar, Pensioner Tehsildar.
68. Bhai Narain Singh, Sub-Divisional Clerk, Jhelum Canal.
69. Bhai Sant Singh (deceased), *Granthi*, Golden Temple, Amritsar.
70. Dr. Kesar Singh, Bikram Dispensary, Ferozepur.
71. Thakur Singh *Granthi*, Amritsar.
72. Bhai Deva Singh, Amritsar, Secretary, Singh Sabha, Amritsar.
73. Bhai Nihal Singh, Schoolmaster, Kairon, Amritsar.
74. Sardar Narain Singh, M. A., Headmaster, Khalsa College.
75. Bhai Mehr Singh Chawla, General Wine-Merchant, Lahore.
76. Bhai Sardha Singh, Clerk, Gujarkhan, Rawalpindi.
77. Bhai Ishar Singh of Khadur, Amritsar.
78. Sardar Hukam Singh, B. A., LL. B., Senior Auditor; now Personal Assistant to Accountant General, North-West Frontier Province.
79. Sardar Trilochan Singh, M. A., Pleader, Amritsar.
80. Mehtab Singh, Barrister-at-law, Ferozepore.
81. Sardar Charan Singh of Amritsar, Sub-Overseer, Sialkot.
82. Bhai Narain Singh, Khalsa College, Amritsar.
83. Sardar Kharak Singh, B. A., pleader of Lahore.
84. Sardar Chenchal Singh, Bhulwal, Shahpur.
85. Dr. Gurmukh Singh, at present residing at Amritsar.
86. Bhai Sarba Singh, of Shahewal,
87. Bhai Arjan Singh, Chak Ramdas, Shahpur.
88. Pensioned Risaldar Basant Singh, of Nowshehra Panuwan.
89. Bhai Gokal Singh, of Garhi Yasin.
90. Master Indar Singh, B. A., formerly of the Khalsa College,

now Private Tutor to the Raja of Faridkot.

91. Bhai Narain Singh, M. A., Head Master, Khalsa College.
92. Bhai Deva Singh of Chhajjal-badhi (Amritsar), Contractor.
93. Sodhi Kishen Singh of Anandpur (Hoshiarpur).
94. Baba Ajit Singh of Haripur, Mardan (Frontier Province).
95. Sant Attar Singh of Mastuana.
96. Bhai Hotu Singh of Hyderabad (Sindh).
97. Sardar Santokh Singh of Moradabad.

**Members of the Managing Committee of the Chief Khalsa
Diwan, Amritsar.**

- *1. President—Bhai Arjan Singh of Bagarian, (Ludhiana).
2. Vice-President—Sardar Harbans Singh of Attari (Amritsar).
3. Secretary—Sardar Sundar Singh of Majitha.
4. Bhai Jodh Singh, M.A., Khalsa College.
5. Sardar Dharam Singh of Gharjhakh, Gujranwala.
6. Sardar Bachan Singh, Pleader, Ludhiana.
7. Bhai Deva Singh, Secretary, Singh Sabha, Amritsar.
8. Sardar Narain Singh, M. A., Head Master, Khalsa College Amritsar.
9. Pensioned Risaldar Basant Singh of Nowshera Panuwan.
10. Bhai Amar Singh, formerly editor of the *Khalsa Advocate*.
11. Sardar Trilochan Singh, M.A., Pleader, Amritsar.
12. Bhai Tara Singh, B. A., Headmaster, Khalsa High School Lyallpur.
13. Rai Bahadur Sadhu Singh, Chief Forest Officer, Jammu.
14. Sardar Bahadur Captain Gurdit Singh of Choohr Chak (deceased).
15. Sardar Kharak Singh, B.A., Pleader, Lahore.
16. Bhai Mohan Singh, Vaid, Tarn Taran (Amritsar).
17. Sardar Arjan Singh, Overseer, Jittoowal (Amritsar).
18. Rai Sahib Sardar Dr. Jiwan Singh of Mardan.

(Note) One place has been vacant for a very long time and one vacancy has been caused by the death of the late Captain Gurdit Singh.

*Is believed to have resigned when the Central Khalsa Diwan was started, but his resignation apparently has not been accepted.

19. Bhai Mohan Singh of Mansura (Ludhiana).
20. Pensioned Subedar Ram Singh, 67th Punjabis.

**List of the Updeshaks employed by the Chief Khalsa Diwan
Amritsar**

1. Bhai Teja Singh, Inspector of Indarki (Rawalpindi)
2. Bhai Lal Singh Gyani, Mohalla Chowk Baba Atal (Amritsar)
3. Bhai Sant Singh, Chunian (Lahore)
4. Bhai Labh Singh, No. 1
5. Bhai Labh Singh, No. 2
6. Bhai Karm Singh
7. Bhai Kartar Singh No. 1
8. Bhai Madho Singh
9. Bhai Sultan Singh
10. Bhai Kartar Singh, No. 2
11. Bhai Fateh Singh
12. Bhai Mangal Singh
13. Bhai Bhagwan Singh
14. Bhai Sundar Singh

Out of these Labh Singh, No. 1 is working in the Jullundur Doab and Sant Singh No. 3 was formerly employed at Chunian but is now working at the Sikh Orphanage, Amritsar. Bhai Madho Singh is working at Sasaram in Bengal. Kartar Singh formerly used to work in Sasaram but he has now opened a school. Sultan Singh is working in the Dhanni (Gujrat, Shahpur and Rawalpindi districts). Sundar Singh is working in Sindh, and the others are kept at headquarters and are sent wherever they are needed.

APPENDIX D

List of the Members of the Khalsa College Council

1. The Commissioner, Lahore Division, President.*
2. The Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, Vice Chairman.*
3. The Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.*
4. The Political Agent, Phulkian States and Bahawalpore.
5. The Principal of the Khalsa College, Amritsar.*
Representatives of Patiala
6. His Highness the Hon'ble Kanwar Sir Ranbir Singh, K.C.S.I.
7. Sirdar Ajit Singh, B.A., Judge, Chief Court.
8. Sirdar Sampuran Singh, Chief Court.
9. Sirdar Bhagwan Singh.
10. Sirdar Bhagwan Singh, Accountant General.
11. General Sirdar Hazura Singh.
12. Sirdar Bahadur Colonel Nand Singh.
13. Sodhi Sujjan Singh, B.A., Foreign Minister.
14. Sirdar Bachittar Singh, Sanitary Superintendent.*
Representatives of Jind State
15. Sirdar Bahadur Bakhsi Gurnam Singh.*
16. Sirdar Gobindar Singh.
17. Colonel Natha Singh.
18. Sirdar Dalip Singh.
19. Sirdar Didar Singh.
Representatives of Nabha State
20. Dr. Sewa Singh, Medical Adviser to His Highness the Maharaja.
21. Bedi Hukam Singh, Nazim Mandiat.
22. Sirdar Hazura Singh, Nazim.
23. Sodhi Hira Singh of the Education Department.*
24. Sirdar Bishen Singh Vakil.
Representatives of the Faridkot State
25. Sirdar Bahadur Sirdar Dyal Singh Man, President of Council.
26. Sirdar Bachittar Singh, Revenue Assistant.
Representatives of Kapurthala State
27. Sirdar Arjan Singh.
28. Major Puran Singh, Asstt. Comptroller, Household Department.

*The members marked with an asterisk are also the members of the Managing Committee.

Representatives of British Districts

Basi Doab

29. Sirdar Sundar Singh Majithia, Amritsar, Honorary Secretary.*
30. Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh Giani, Bar-at-Law, Amritsar.*
31. Bhai Vir Singh, Amritsar.
32. Rai Bahadur Sirdar Sadhu Singh, Forest Officer, Jammu State.
33. Sirdar Raghbir Singh Sindhanwalia, Rais, Rajah Sansi, district Amritsar.
34. Sirdar Joginder Singh, Home Minister, Patiala State.
35. Sirdar Sahib Narain Singh, Singhpura, district Gurdaspur.
36. Bhai Gurdit Singh, Rais, Lahore.*
37. Sirdar Baghel Singh, Rais, Kalla, district Lahore.
38. Sirdar Mehr Singh, Chawala, Rais, Lahore.*
39. Sirdar Partap Singh, Octroi, Superintendent, Lahore.
40. Bhai Dan Singh, B. A., Asstt. Secy. to Chief Minister, Jammu State.
41. S. B. Bhai Ram Singh, Principal Mayo School of Art, Lahore.

Trans-Ravi Tract

42. Baba Gurbakhsh Singh Bedi, Kallar (Rawalpindi).
43. Sirdar Nihal Singh, M. A., Clerk of Court to the Financial Commissioner, Punjab, Lahore.
44. Sirdar Dharm Singh, Rais, Gharjakh.*
45. Kanwar Pirthipal Singh, Ra's, Gujranwala.
46. Sirdar Bahadur Risaldar Jagat Singh, Kauntrila (Rawalpindi).
47. Sardar Shivdev Singh, Uberoi, Honorary Magistrate, Sialkote.

Cis-Beas Tract

48. Sirdar Daljit Singh, Rais, Jullundur.
49. Bhai Sahib Arjan Singh, Rais, Bagarian (Ludhiana).
50. Sodhi Ram Narain Singh, Anandpore (Hoshiarpur).
51. Sirdar Badan Singh, C.S.I., Malaud (Ludhiana).
52. Sirdar Bachan Singh, B.A., Pleader, Ludhiana.
53. Sirdar Gajjan Singh, Pleader, Ludhiana.

Representatives of Sikh Graduates

54. Sirdar Trilochan Singh, M. A., LL.B., Pleader, Amritsar.
55. Sirdar Gurcharan Singh, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Lahore (deceased).

APPENDIX E

Sikh Publications

I

The organs of the Chief Khalsa Diwan are the *Khalsa Advocate*, *Khalsa Samachar*, and *Khalsa Sewak*, of which particulars are given below:

(1) The *Khalsa Advocate* is an English weekly published at Amritsar; its circulation is given as 641. It is owned and edited by a committee known as the Khalsa Advocate Committee. As regards its tone and influence, the latest Punjab Government, report runs:

"Has occasionally shown sympathy with political agitation. Tone moderate. Treats of political, social and religious matters affecting the Sikhs. Was given to publishing extracts from the *Gaelic American* regarding Indian politics. Was warned in June 1907 for reproducing an article likely to cause discontent among native sepoys and to rouse disaffection against Government. Also attacked the Principal, Khalsa College (Mr. Cole), in a series of letters which only ceased when libel proceedings at the expense of the Khalsa College were talked of; strongly Sikh in tendency. Influence good."

(2) The *Khalsa Samachar* is a Gurmukhi journal which is published weekly at Amritsar and has a circulation of 300. The proprietor and editor is given as Bahadur Singh, and Bahadur Singh and Vir Singh are named as the printers; the paper is really controlled by the latter. The following is culled from the last report on its tone: "Tone mild. Advocates the propagation of Sikh religious doctrines. Is largely read by the Gurmukhi-reading Sikh public. Mainly a religious paper. Deals with political questions also. Influence not good, but likely to keep within bounds."

(3) The *Khalsa Sewak* is also a Gurmukhi weekly of Amritsar having a circulation of 1,000. The proprietor and editor is Jiwan Singh, an Arora shopkeeper of Amritsar. According to the Punjab Government report the paper "was started by several Sikh gentlemen for the propagation of the Sikh religion. No influence. Reprints the

views of the Singh Sabha and Chief Khalsa Diwan. Treats of female education; contains news. Deals with politics. Tone objectionable."

Recently the writings of these journals have not been markedly political in tone; as regards education, they have given strong support to the cause of the Sikh Educational Conference.

II

Other Sikh journals are the *Bir*, a Gurmukhi monthly, conducted by Mehtab Singh, which advocates the unity of the various sects of Sikhs, and the *Dodhara Khanda*, also a Gurmukhi monthly, which is published by one Suchet Singh and generally attacks the Manager and Pujaris of the Golden Temple against whom he has personal grudge.

III

Pamphlets, etc., recently published, which are of interest in connection with the Sikh revival

1. *Daler Kaur*—This is a novel published by the Sikh Agency, Amritsar, at the *Wazir-i-Hind* Press there. It first came to notice early in 1911. The author in the preface says that Sikhs at the present time live in comfort and have forgotten the troubles and vicissitudes of those early Sikhs who sacrificed their lives in the destruction of tyrannical and unjust rule; the Khalsa nation is indolent and backward in education and the people have forgotten the brave deeds of their forefathers. It is necessary, continues the writer, that the Sikh nation should be aroused by writing the accounts of the brave deeds done and sacrifices made by their ancestors. He then proceeds to tell the story of the prodigies of valour performed against the Mughal troops by a brave Sikh lady named Daler Kaur.

The object of the book has been described as being to incite the Sikhs to commit excesses.

2. *Guru-ke-Liye*. This book came to notice in January 1911. In it is stated that the third Guru, Amar Dás, did not pay land revenue to the Emperor Akbar, and used to tell that 'imposter' that he would never pay as the land was the property of God. This is followed by a short account of the other Gurus and of Guru Gobind Singh and his four sons. The author then asks why a nation with such traditions is sleeping. The Sikhs have become boasters and have been captured by a 'handful of dust', they should go and look after their perishing brothers and educate their sons so as to enable them to live in comfort; they should also spread the Panjabi language.

3. *Chamak-de-Lal or Hari Singh Nalwa*. This work was written by one Suraj Singh, Updeshak, and was published at Punjab Commercial Press, Amritsar, in 1910. It contains an account of the life and battles of the famous Sikh general, Hari Singh Nalwa, who flourished in the time of Ranjit Singh and was renowned for the terror he inspired among the frontier Pathans. The writer eulogises Hari Singh's heroic and self-sacrificing qualities and holds him up as an example to Sikhs of the present time.

4. *Japan-ki-Taraqqi* or The Progress of Japan. This pamphlet first came to notice about July 1910. It was written by one Kesar Singh of Multan and published at the *Mufid-i-Am* Press, Lahore. The author praises the educational system of the Japanese and their games which imbue boys with a military spirit; India must wake up from her sleep; "the poor Indians will grind their bones and make the people of other countries rich," the Japanese look upon honour as more than life while the Guru says that only he is brave who fights till he is cut to pieces. After describing the habits of the Japanese, the author says that the Japanese Emperor loves his subjects and is loved by them; while a foreign king does not treat equally his own subjects and those of the country of his adoption. The Japanese, he continues, honour their arms and go armed, but in India people walk about with thin canes. "Can such people become servants of the country?" India's valour is a thing of the past; people should bury dissensions and strive for the good of the country; they must wake up from sleep and, being born men, should not die the death of dogs.

The book appeals to the Sikh nation to follow the influence of Japan and aptly illustrates the unsettling influence on the Indian mind of Japan's recent victories.

5. *Jathe Bandi* or Brotherhood (of Sikhs). This work was written by Professor Jodh Singh for the Khalsa National Agency. It was published at the Punjab Commercial Press of Amritsar and came to notice early in 1910. The author begins by emphasising the supreme authority of the *Granth Sahib* and the democratic nature of Sikhism. He describes the varying fortunes of Sikhism in the past, and the establishment of Singh Sabhas and the Chief Khalsa Diwan as means of protection against foes. Until every Sikh realises he must do something, the nation cannot go on; the unfit must be turned out; when a thief enters a house, the house should unite to follow certain rules. The Singh Sabhas show great activity in increasing their numbers, in

getting the support of wealthy and influential men and in organising gatherings and preachings. But the rules of Sikhism are not followed because, as they say, "the time has not yet come." Sikhism has been the same at all times and no special time is fixed for the expression of truth. The precepts of Sikhism must be followed even at the sacrifice of life.

6. *Ki Khalsa Kalaj Sikhian Da Hat* (Does the Khalsa College belong to the Sikhs)? This pamphlet, which is from the pen of Master Sundar Singh formerly of the Khalsa School of Lyallpur, was printed at the Gurmukhi Press, Amritsar, and appeared about July 1909. It is an attack of almost fanatical fierceness on Government and Sirdar Sundar Singh Majithia in connection with the reconstitution of the Khalsa College in 1908. The author has grossly misrepresented Government's motives and portrayed it as trying to gain possession of the Sikh national educational institution by the same dishonest machinations as it employed for the annexation of the Punjab. The work is in several places clearly seditious.

7. *Sachi Yadgar* (The True Memorial). This is a tract which was printed at the Bombay Machine Press, Lahore, by the Lahore Committee in December 1910. The contents of the leaflet have been alluded to on page 15 of the text. It is a laudatory notice of the 10th Guru prepared for the anniversary of his birthday and is strongly coloured with the militant characteristics of the Khalsa religion.

8. *Sikh Vidya Utte Lekh*. This tract was distributed gratis at the Sikh Educational Conference in Amritsar in 1910. The author is Sohan Singh Rahi of Gujranwala and it was printed at the Bombay Machine Press, Lahore. The contents deal with Sikh education and lays down that unity and religious education are the only means by which the Sikhs can rise. The tract derides against English education and thinks it time that the Sikhs reverted to the system prescribed by their Gurus.

APPENDIX F

- Portion of a Pictorial
Broadsheet, published
by Jagat Singh, upde-
shak.
- A. "He only is to be known as true who fights for the cause of his religion, who, though cut to pieces, does not leave the field."
- B. "This age is a knife, Kings are butchers; justice hath taken wings and fled."
- C. Mati Dass being cut in twain with a saw and the imprisonment of the ninth guru, Tegh Bahadur, by Aurangzeb.
- D. "The right use of knowledge is to become sacrificing."

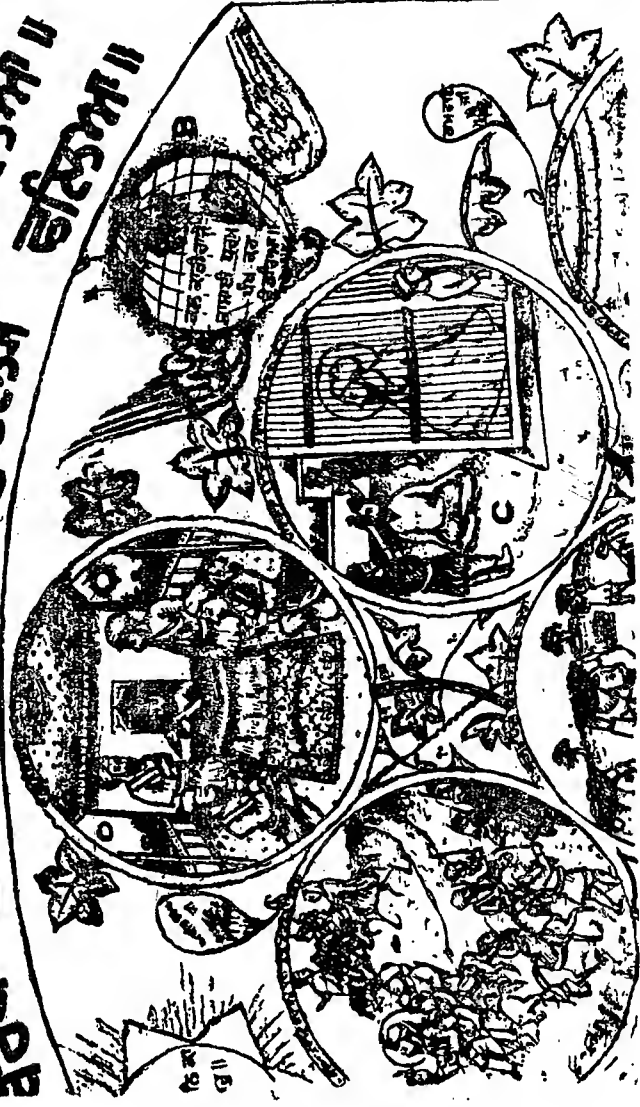
ਸਿੰਘਣੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ

ਕਾਨਗੜੀ ਦਫ਼ਤਰਬਾਰੀ ਤੋਂ ਛੁਟ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਆਰਟੀਕਲਾਂ ਵਾਲੇ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਿਦਵਾਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਦੋ 'ਦਰਬਾਰ' ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਵਿਚਾਰ-ਵਿਧੀ ਵਿਚ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਵਿਚਾਰ-ਵਿਧੀ ਦੇ ਆਰਟੀਕਲਾਂ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਵਿਚਾਰੇ ਕਰੇ ਹਨ ॥



A
 ਸੂਫ਼ ਜੋ ਪਾਸਟਰਲੈਂਡ ਲਈ ਵੀਨ ਦੇ ਰੋਲ ॥
 ਪੁਸ਼ਟ ਪੁਸ਼ਟਾ ਕਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਕਰਮੀ ਨ ਰੁਕੇ ਕੇਲ ॥
 ਮਾਰੀ ਗੁਰੂਗੋ ਸੀ ਨੋਂ ਤਾਕਤ ਤੋਂ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਆਰਟ
 ਤੇ ਪੰਜੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਵਿਭਿ ਘਰਿਆ ਸੀ ॥

**ਬਾਬਾ ਸੁਹਾਵਣ ਫਲ ਸੁਫਲਜੋ ਤਪਰੀ ਨ ਵਲਿਆ ॥
 ਬਾਪ ਸਾਰਿ ਇਹ ਤਪਰੀ ਨ ਵਲਿਆ ॥**



D
 ਵਿਦਵਾ ਵੀਚਾਰੀ
 ਪਰਉ ਪਛਾਰੀ
 ਇਸਤੀ ਸੁਧਾਰ
 ਕਾਰਤ ਦੇ ਵੀਚੇ ਸਾਫੀ,
 ਖੁੱਛਣੇ ਵੀਚੇ ਸਾਫੀ,
 ਵਿੱਚ ਵਿਸਾਰ ਕੇ ਸਫਾ

(From Shri K. S. Talwar, New Delhi.)

The Sikhs in Canada and California

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

GANDA SINGH

The bibliographical information about the Sikhs in Canada and California, presented in the following pages, was collected by me during my six-week visit to these countries from October 28 to December 9, 1969. In his letter of August 4, 1969, my enthusiastic host, Dr. Kesar Singh of Tofield, Alberta, had written to me saying: "Most of the material on the history of the Sikhs in Canada is available in Vancouver." This was a great allurements for me and, when there, I spent most of my time in the Vancouver Public Library on the Burrad Street, and in the library of the University of British Columbia. Work in the History section of the first and in the Human Sciences and Special Collections sections of the second paid rich dividends and my only regret was that I did not have more time at my disposal. In addition to a large number of Canadian and American publications, reports of Government departments, Parliamentary sessional papers, memoranda, etc., which contained references to the socio-political activities of the Indians, with particular reference to the Sikhs, there were huge collections of journals, newspaper series, and newspaper clippings, which required close scrutiny. The field was vast and my resources were scanty. I could, therefore, devote myself only to important historical topics of interest to the Sikhs in India and California and had to leave out, for another occasion, the cultural and economic sides of their contribution to the life of their adopted countries.

To begin with, I failed to trace the required information under the heads of 'Indians' or 'Sikhs' in the indices, but I soon discovered that it was to be found under the following heads:

sians, Asians in B.C.

Asiatics, Asiatics' Exclusion, Asiatic Exclusion Policy or Question, Canadian Immigration Policy,

Hindus, Hindus in B. C., Hindu Immigration, Hindu Question, Immigration Policy, Immigration Policy of Canada,

Indian Immigration,
Komagata Maru Affair,
Orientals, Oriental Immigration, etc., etc.

The Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, are, to my mind, the richest repository of original public documents, official reports and memoranda and Government publications on the subject. The Dominion Archivist, Mr. Wilfrid Smith, was extremely courteous and helpful in allowing me the fullest facilities during the two days, December 5 and 6, that I was there. So was his Deputy, Mr. R. D. Hume. It was here that I learnt about a research project on 'The East Indian Population of British Columbia, c. 1900 to the present', for which Dr Karnail Singh Sandhu, Associate Professor of Geography in the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, had been collecting material on an extensive scale since 1968. He seems to be covering the Komagata Maru affair, 1914, as well. His collection, I presume would ultimately be available at the UBC.

If the Khalsa Diwan Society could establish in its new Sikh Temple at Vancouver a library of Sikh literature and place therein, for consultation, all the material on the Sikhs in Canada available in Panjabi and other Indian languages, in addition to the copies of the books and documents in the UBC and Vancouver Public libraries, it could develop into an fine research centre.

Ottawa has also an Association, the Canada Sikh Research Centre with two young men, Amarjit Singh Sethi and Madan Gopal Singh, directing it. So far it has confined its activities to occasional lectures and seminars on Sikhs and Sikhism. It has been organized, according to its constitution and bye-laws, to disseminate in that part of the world knowledge about Sikhs and Sikhism and 'to promote the assimilation of Sikh immigrants in the Canadian nation . . .' It is hoped that, in due course of time, it will become a real research centre for the study of the history of the Sikhs in Canada.

In California, U. S. A., Mr. Kesar Singh Dhillon maintains at his residence at 5720 Gaskill Street, Oakland 8, a large collection of books, pamphlets and newspapers bearing on the Ghadar movement, and he also occasionally issues *The Call of the Martyrs*, the Bulletin of the Hindustan Gadar Party Memorial Committee.

The Sikh Temple at Stockton, which was one of the earliest centres of the Sikhs in California, has with it some stock of the old

Ghadar literature, but there seems to be no satisfactory arrangement for its distribution.

I wish good luck to the new Gurdwara at Yuba city and to the newly established Sikh Study Circle at Los Angeles.

In India, the largest collection of this source material is preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi. In the furtherance of a project for the History of the Freedom Movement in the Panjab, copies of relevant records were secured by the Government of the Panjab and have been transferred, through the Department of State Archives, to the Punjabi University, Patiala, which has taken over the project and is working on it. The *Komagata Maru* affair figures prominently in these records and will form a significant volume in the series of this project. It is expected to be published some time in 1971.

The Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee, Jullundur, has also in their library a number of records secured from Canada and the United States of America for their *Ghadar Party da Itihas* compiled by Gurcharan Singh Saihsara and published in 1961.

The most knowledgeable person who has been gathering first-hand information on the subject from those directly connected with the Ghadar movements in America and India is the 78-year old Gyani Nahar Singh of Gujjarwal, Ludhiana. He was not only himself in jail from 1915 to 1919 as a political prisoner and a companion of the late Bhai Randhir Singh of Narangwal, meeting many of the Ghadarites behind the bars, but also a close friend of a large number of them after their release. As an associate editor of the *Sikh Sewak*, the *Qaumi Dard* and the *Asli Qaumi Dard*, and as the editor of the *Gur Sewak* and the *Panjabi Ratan*, Gyani Nahar Singh fruitfully used his keen historical sense and remarkably retentive memory in collecting and recording in these newspapers, particularly the *Panjabi Ratan*, all the information he could gather from different sources. His books *Azadi dian Lehar* (Ludhiana, 1959) and *Kartar Singh Sarabha* (Punjabi University, Patiala) and series of articles on *1914-15 di Ghadar Lehar* (thirty-one in number) and *Komagata Maru Jahaz de Musafir di Vitthya* (forty), mentioned in the Panjabi section of the Bibliography, contain useful information on the history of the Ghadarites and the Ghadar Movement.

In addition to the books mentioned in the paragraphs above, Jagjit Singh's *Ghadar Party Lehar* (Amritsar, 1955) and *Ghadar 1915* by

Khushwant Singh and Satindra Singh (New Delhi, 1966), deserve special mention, as also G. S. Deol's *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement* (New Delhi, 1969).

In the collection of information given in this bibliography, I am indebted to Dr Kesar Singh of Tofield and to Mr Mohinder Singh Gill, President, Khalsa Diwan Society, Vancouver, for the opportunity provided and the assistance given to me during my visit to Canada. I also owe my grateful thanks to several other friends in Canada and the United States of America for the kindness and courtesy extended to me in various ways.

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PUNJABI

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ਗੁਰਦਿਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਬਾਬਾ, ਜੁਲਮੀ ਕਥਾ
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ਜਸਵੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਬਾਬਾ ਗੁਰਦਿਤ ਸਿੰਘ — ਕੌਮ ਗਾਟਾ ਮਾਰੂ

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ਗਦਰ ਦੀ ਗੂੰਜ, ਨੰਬਰ 1 ਤੋਂ 7, ਗਦਰ ਪ੍ਰੈਸ, ਸਾਨ-ਫਰਾਂਸਿਸਕੋ
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1914-1915 ਦੀ ਗਦਰ ਦੀ ਲਹਿਰ, 31 ਲੇਖ, 20 ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ 1955 ਤੋਂ 30 ਦਸੰਬਰ, 1955
ਅਮ੍ਰੀਕਾ ਅਤੇ ਕੈਨੇਡਾ ਦੇ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨੀ, 63 ਲੇਖ, 22 ਜੁਲਾਈ 1960 ਤੋਂ 11 ਮਈ
1962 ਕਾਮਾਗਾਟਾ ਮਾਰੂ ਜਹਾਜ਼ ਦੇ ਮੁਸਾਫਿਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਥਿਆ, 40 ਲੇਖ, ਜਨਵਰੀ
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The Ghadr Party Trial and the United States
of America
(1917--1918)

AMARJIT SINGH*

In the United States of America, the trial of the Indian revolutionaries, better known as Ghadrites, for alleged involvement in what is called a Hindu-German conspiracy for a *ghadr* in order to throw the British out of India took place in San Francisco. It was one of the most sensational and dramatic trials in the history of international relations. It cost the American and British governments almost three million dollars. Witnesses were brought from different parts of the world and 200 members of the British Secret Service spent two years in San Francisco.¹ One infers that the British Government was prosecuting the Indian revolutionaries in the United States.

A *ghadr* propaganda, issued by the Ghadr Party,² from 1324 Valencia Street and 5 Wood Street in San Francisco, was mainly aimed to start a *ghadr* to free India from the British yoke and their philosophy was believed to be incongruous mixture of Sinn Fein, Marxian socialism and the romantic nationalism of the Italian patriot, Mazzini.³

On the morning of 6th March, 1917, Dr. Chandra Kant

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1 Khushwant Singh & Satindra Singh, *Ghadr 1915*, 52, n. 65

2 Ghadr Party was founded by a Punjabi, Hardyal, at the instance of many Punjabis including Sikhs and Hindus. An examination of the available records reveal that it was not founded by Bengalis as Dr. R.C. Majumdar puts it in his book, *History of the Freedom Movement in India* (Vol. II, 390-91).

3 Mark Naidis, *Propaganda of the Ghadr Party : Pacific Historical Review* (University of California Press, 1951), vol. XX, 251.

Chakravarty,⁴ a thin faced native of Bengal and a speaker of many languages, and Ernest Se Kunna, a German subject who called himself a 'Doctor', were arrested, and charged with conspiracy, hatched in New York, the purpose of which was the invasion of India through the Chinese territory and the instigation of rebellions and uprisings throughout the Great Britain's Asiatic Empire. The Federal authorities viewed that the scheme was directed from Berlin⁵ and the authorities reported that these arrests were only a beginning in the country-wide round-up of aliens of various nationalities who had taken advantage of the American neutrality to plot on the American soil against the allies. Besides India, Japan and China were to be the scene of activities of rebellion and anarchy on the theory that the trouble in those countries would react to the disadvantage of the allies.⁶ On 10th March, 1917, the German Embassy in Washington, was raided and the Federal authorities obtained Wolf Von Igel's papers, which gave the names of the members of Berlin Committee charged with the German propaganda in India. The Hindus were Chakravarty, one Acharya, believed to have gone back to India . a man named Guha, said to be employed in a club in New York and another, Chari, whose whereabouts were not known, and H. Chin, a Chinese student who had recently sailed from San Francisco for China to assemble arms and ammunition to be used by the Ghadriles in the revolt which Germany expected to encourage in all parts of the Indian empire. Igel's papers also disclosed that the German scheme to foment the trouble in India dated particularly from the beginning of the war and the conspiracy was directed from Berlin and operated through the Berlin Committee. The destruction of Panama Canal was believed to figure prominently in the plot and intended to create trouble in the Philippines.⁷ The Federal authorities viewed that an examination of Von Igel's papers disclosed that the plotting was world-wide and it also disclosed the names of several hundred persons involved in the plot.⁸

4 Before coming to the United States of America, he was a school teacher and a journalist in India.

5 *New York Times*, March 7, 1917.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*, Sunday, March 11, 1917.

8 *Ibid.*, March 13, 1917.

Chakravarty and Se Kunna were thoroughly interrogated and the plot investigated at all possible levels of the Federal authorities for more than six months. Many times, force was applied to make them confess the crime. Interrogation was held in the office of the Fifth Deputy Commissioner, Room Z, Police Headquarters, New York, on 6th March, 1917, and the officials present were Guy H. Sould, Capt. Thomas J. Tunney and Detective George D. Barnitz. Here Chakravarty and Se Kunna were subjected to cross-examination for five-hours. During the interrogation, Capt. Tunney asked Chakravarty:

"Were you in Germany since the war started?"

"No."

"Positive about that"?

"Yes".

Then Chakravarty made the following statement at the Police headquarters and later in the court, concerning his visit to Berlin and his meeting with German officials:

"When I went to Germany, I used a Persian passport under the name of Raza Bagar. I got it from a boy who is now dead. I have destroyed the passport. I went to Germany because I have some friends in Berlin and we had some revolutionary work. I was indeed in Bergen, then I went to Christiania, then to Stockholm, then to Copenhagen where I wrote some letters to friends. I then went to Berlin where I met Wesendonk, Head of the Oriental Department. He gave me instructions to see if it was possible to plan a revolution in India. I said I could influence Hindus in America against the British Government and thereby might influence the Americans. I met Wesendonk twice. I asked if I could serve India through Constantinople and so I would be there. He asked me to go back to America and do my propaganda in my own way. He gave me \$ 1,000 in American money. He told me to go to Von Igel. I went to see him at his place in 57th Street. After I convinced him of my bonafide, he gave me money. Then I gave money to a Chinaman, Chen, whom I sent to China to aid in starting a revolution, but he was arrested in Hong Kong."⁹

⁹ *Trial of the Ghadr Party: U.S.A. vs Bopp & others; Interrogation at the Police Headquarters, March 6, 1917, pp. 3-4.*

Chakravarty advocated in the Court that he had no connection with Ram Chandra or Gupta and said that he was not a participant in the military enterprise. On another occasion, he made the following statement to certain officials on March 8th, 1917:

"I got a communication from the Berlin Committee to see them...In Berlin, the India Committee took me to the Foreign Office where I saw various heads of the Departments ...\$60,000 was loaned by the German government to the Indian National Party."¹⁰

He was also asked to give his comments of the quoted remarks of William J. Bryan which appeared in the form of a pamphlet. The authorities believed that Bryan's literature was distributed in India for the purpose of creating unrest.

"I can't remember off hand what these distinguished gentlemen said," Chakravarty replied, "except that it had to do with the British rule in India."

"Was it complimentary?"

"Not very," the Hindu answered. "But Mr. Bryan and Senator L. Follette", Chakravarty added, "are not the only well-known Americans quoted in that pamphlet. The pamphlet included the expressions of about twenty famous men. Among them is Andrew Carnegie, a well-known diplomat, who was at one time the American Minister in Peking".¹¹ However, Chakravarty and Se Kunna were bailed out for \$ 25,000 each.

On 7th April, 1917, Ram Chandra,¹² a leader of the Ghadr Party, was taken into custody at San Francisco as he had been receiving \$ 1,000 a month from Germany. In a letter to the press, Ram Chandra, as the editor of the Ghadr newspaper, declared in the most emphatic terms that the "Young India" party could not be

10 *Ibid.*

11 *New York Times*, March 10, 1917.

12 Ram Chandra belonged to a Brahman family of Kalu Khau, Peshawar, and he came into prominence in 1906-07 at Lahore with Ajit Singh and assisted the latter in the agitation against the government both by speeches and writings. For some time, he was as editor, publishing from Gujranwala, the *Akash* of Delhi. See V.C. Joshi, *Lajpat Rai's Autobiographical Writings*, 203, n. 11.

called "anarchistic". "We are not anarchistic but republicans. Our plan is constructive, first and last. We aim at nothing less than the establishment in India of a republic, a government of the people, by the people, for the people." He wanted to identify his cause with American tradition of democracy and freedom and he appealed to the idealism of Wilson. The President was reminded that the United States of America became a free nation by an act of rebellion against the British. Ram Chandra compared the benevolent rule of the United States in the Philippines to the British rule in India which allowed millions to die of starvation and caused *Indians* to be sold like slaves in the British colonies, and women dishonoured everyday.^{12a}

M. N. Roy was indicted and arrested in the campus of the Columbia University, while returning from a meeting, addressed by Lajpat Rai. The Anglo-American Secret Service made elaborate arrangements to kidnap him, and Chief of the British-Indian C. I.D., Denham, had come to San Francisco to conduct the Hindu-German conspiracy case.¹³

On 20th November, 1917, famous San Francisco trial began in the Court of the United States of America for the Southern Division of the Northern District in the presence of Judge C. Van Fleet and the Grand Jury of 12 men, having Mr. Preston as U.S. and nine counsels for the defence; and Chakravarty advocates his case on his own.

Mr. Preston, U.S. Attorney, in his opening statement, said that "specific charge laid in the indictment is that these defendants, in 1914, entered into a conspiracy the object of which was to produce mutiny and rebellion and the overthrow of the British government in India. Section 13 of the Criminal Code which provides that whoever begins, sets on foot or provides the means for the carrying on of any military expedition or enterprise against a power with which we are at peace, is guilty of felony and punishable therein."¹⁴

12a. *New York Times*, July 8, 1916.

13 M.N. Roy's *Memoirs*, 64.

14 *Trial of the Ghadr Party*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1,3.

105 names were mentioned in the indictment and the evidence dragged 50 others.

The five defendants, the Consul-General Franz Bopp; the Vice-Consul Von Schack; Attache of the Consul, Von Brinken, the Consul General's spy, Charles C. Crowley and another of his tools, Margaret Cornell, were found on both indictment guilty of conspiracy to prepare a military expedition and guilty of conspiracy to restrain interstate and foreign trade by blowing bridges and ships in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. A state of war was declared with Germany under President's proclamation of April 6, 1917, before they could appeal. Consequently, they were indicted for having violated Section 13 of the Federal Criminal law, relating to military enterprise or expedition, connected with the Maverick, the Annie Larsen, and so-called Hindu plots.¹⁶ In the House of Commons, the Secretary of State, Chamberlain, initiated the debate on the Hindus' plots trying to wreck Great Britain in the world war.¹⁷

Preston, U.S. Attorney, in his opening speech, attempted to trace the roots of the problem from Hardyal. He stated that in Nov. 1913, Hardyal published articles, mentioning that "The Germans had great sympathy with our movement for liberty, for they and ourselves have a common enemy." In another issue, Hardyal stated that the "end of the English government has come, they are getting trouble on all sides. Germany is preparing to make war with England. Afghanistan is becoming civilized. The government is unable to do anything in Bengal. The Mohammadans are joining the revolutionary party. The Sikhs are also getting ready...It is the duty of all our countrymen to join the mutiny, help the Ghadr paper and be ready to start a revolution as soon as you return to India. There is nothing greater than this at present and it is everyone's duty to join us."¹⁸ In an *interview of the Special Correspondent of the Ghadr with Dr.*

15 *Ibid.*, 12.

16 The Assistant Attorney-General (Warren) to the Counselor for the Department of State, Jan. 11, 1917; *Papers Relating to the Foreign Department of the United States of America, 1917, Supplement I*, (Washington, 1931, Publication No. 228), pp. 579-85.

17 *Parliamentary Debates*, 30th Parliament of U.K. & Ireland, House of Commons (London, 1917), Vol XCL, second volume of 1917, pp. 1143-44.

18 *Trial of the Ghadr Party, European MSS, Eur.C. 138/1-6; vol.1, 14.*

Franz" on Feb. 14, 1915, Dr. Franz told the reporters that Germany had all sympathy for the Ghadrtes and Germany was fighting a war against oppression and tyranny of Great Britain.

Douves Derker, a journalist,¹⁹ who was also involved in the Hindu-German conspiracy, became an approver and provided testimony for the prosecution. He stated that Pillai, a member of the Berlin Committee, made a Bangkok proposition to him that Derker should go to Bangkok with funds from the National Indian Committee in Berlin^{19a} and start a newspaper there, publishing war-news from Berlin-source and distribute it from Bangkok into India and make propaganda for Germany. Derker asked Pillai how far he could rely on funds from the National Committee. Thus Bangkok proposition did not materialise as no help was forthcoming. Derker along with Pillai went to the German Foreign Office but no conclusion came out of it.²⁰ Nawab Ali Khan and Jodh Singh were brought from India to give witness for the United States and they also became approvers.

Mrs. Annette Abbet Adams put forward the strongest arguments which she summed up on 16th April, 1918. She argued that the court had stated several times that the indictment had charged these defendants for conspiring in San Francisco with providing and preparing and setting on foot within the United States a military enterprise. The purposes of the said enterprise were :

- "1. To incite mutiny and armed rebellion in India by the native subjects of the said King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;
- "2. To overthrow and destroy the said government and authority;
- "3. To hinder and obstruct the military operations of the said King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;

¹⁹ Derker had a daily paper "Express" and a periodical "*Het Tijdschrift*", English translation "*Daily Periodical*", which was fortnightly. Derker who was closely associated with Indian Party made propaganda for Indian revolution in Holland by running a "Paper" in Holland.

^{19a}. Members of the Committee were Hardyal, Chatopadhyaya, Barkatulla, Dr. Hafiz, B.N. Dutt, Pillai, and Prabhaker.

²⁰ *Trial of the Ghadr Party, op. cit.*, 6, 531-32.

"4. To aid and assist the military operations of the Emperor of Germany in the said war, and that the defendants knew of all these things."

Besides, the Ghadrites were to procure men within the United States and give them military training, supply them with money in the United States and use money belonging to Germany, provide them with transportation from the United States to India and send seditious literature that was designed and intended to incite rebellion, and purchase and charter vessels within the United States with the funds of Germany.²¹

According to Mrs. Adams, this literature contained sufficient material, intended to incite a revolt. First issue of *Ghadr*, brought out from 436, Hill Street, San Francisco, on Nov. 1, 1913 was 'Our Name and our Work'. "What is our name"? *Ghadr*. "What is our Work"? *Ghadr*. The "*Ghadr*" was interpreted as "mutiny". "Where will the mutiny break out"? In India, "When will it break out?" In few years. "Why should it break out" Because the people could no longer bear the tyranny and oppression practised under the English rule and were ready to fight and die for freedom. Mrs. Adams contended that the "Yungantar Ashram" was not an ashram but a fort from where the bombardment of the English would be started.²² Publications of articles like (a) *Ghadr di Goonj* (Echoes of Mutiny), (b) *Illan-i-Jang* (Declaration of the War), (c) *Naya Zamana* (The New Age), (d) The Balance Sheet of British Rule in India; the circulation of *Ghadr* in Canada, Japan, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Malaya States, the Philippines, British Guiana West, were considered to be the violation of the neutrality laws and intended to incite rebellion in British India. 50,000 copies of a pamphlet *Why is India Revolting against British Rule?* were printed in order to distribute it in foreign lands.²³

Mrs. Adams then tried to convince the Judge and Gentlemen of the Jury about the Hindu-German conspiracy in which some Americans were also involved. In the beginning of 1914, the German Consulate, comprising of Mr. Franz Bopp, as Consul, Von Schack as Vice-Consul,

21 *Ibid.*, Vol., 70, 6427-29.

22 *Ibid.* Vol. 70, 6433.

23 *Ibid.*, Vol. 71, 6560.

Kaufmann as Chancellor and many other subordinate assistants were alleged to have conspired and Bopp was the brain behind it. Schack, Capelle and Bley had admitted to provide coal to the German fleet, which was lying in the Pacific ocean. On cross examination, Bley further admitted the attempt to take out the "Mazatlan" for the "Leipzig", the sailing of the "Mazatlan" and the meeting with the "Leipzig" in the Pacific ocean. Frederick Jensen was the owner of "Mazatlan" ship which was seized in Mexican waters. Then occurred Sacramento Incident when Mazatlan, German ship, to Sacramento changed to American register. It was loaded with a cargo of freight, which was seized by the fleet in the South Pacific. Federal authorities prevented the sailing of another ship "*Olson & Mahony*", which was loaded with the fleet.²⁴ Mrs. Adams put forward sufficient testimony to prove her contention.²⁵

According to the testimony of Henry Mauck, Haus Tausher, an Attache in the German embassy, had asked him and his agent to purchase arms and ammunition worth of \$ 175,000, which was subsequently put on the cargo of the "Annie-Larsen",²⁶ that was put out to sea in March 1915 for Mexico. A few days later, an oil tanker, "Maverick", left America carrying oil and literature of the Ghadr Party and five Ghadrates on board dressed as waiters. "Maverick" was sold by the Standard Oil Company for \$ 50,000. At the first instance, the German Consulate paid three cheques of \$ 20,000; and \$ 20,000 and \$ 5,000 for "Maverick" which was sent to the Orient for the revolt.²⁷ Another ship called "K-17" was sent to Honolulu.²⁸

24. *Ibid.*, vol., 71, 6434.

25. During the fall of 1914, passenger ships show that various groups of Hindus went out from time to time.

On Sept. 12, 1914	"Chinyao Manu"	with 6 Hindus
On Oct. 31, 1914	"Eshinyo Manu"	with 6 Hindus
On Sept. 15, 1914	"Siberia"	with 2 Hindus
On Sept. 19, 1914	"China"	with 11 Hindus
On Sept. 26, 1914	"Manchuria"	with 24 Hindus
On Aug. 29, 1914	"Korea"	with 62 Hindus
On Oct. 21, 1914	"Tenya Manu"	with 109 Hindus
On Oct. 24, 1914	"Mongolia"	with 141 Hindus

Ibid., vol 71, 6437.

26. Mrs. Adams brought an evidence of the entire bank accounts, cheques issued to buy the material and purchase of ship.

27. *Trial of the Ghadr Party, op cit.*, Vol. 71, 6459.

28. For detailed information, see R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement*, II, 416-17.

Mrs. Adams placed before the court the code correspondence concerning the military expedition to India as a result of the Hindu-German conspiracy.

A communication dated New York, 15th of April, 1916, marked 'Personal Matters', reads as follows.

"New York, 15th April, 1916.

"J. No. 332/16

"Mr. E. J. Euphrat has asked that the enclosed document be forwarded to His Excellency in a safe way.

"He asks for a reply as quickly as possible because if he does not receive the desired allowance he will have to change the plans for his journey.

K. N. St.

"To the Imperial Ambassador
His Excellency Count Bernstorff,
Washington, D. C.

"In the meantime you will remember that Chakravarty left for Berlin in Dec. 1915, and that he returned along in February, 1916. The "Ghadr" staff was still at work, at that time, G. B. Lal, Sundah Singh Galli, Nidhan Singh, Bishan Singh Hindi, Imam Din, Naranjan Das, who came in after June, Munshi Ram having gone away from the staff sometime in the spring of 1915".

A communication to the German Embassy at Washington :

"The German Embassy,
Washington.

"In future all Indian affairs are to be exclusively handled by the committee, to be formed by Dr. Chakravarty, Dharendra Sarkar, and Heramba Lal Gupta. The latter person has been expelled from Japan, thus cease to be independent representative of the Indian Independence Committee existing.

Zimmerman.

Copy to the Military Information Bureau, N. Y."

The document was also found in Von Igel's papers.²⁹

Mrs. Adams quoted another code message which Chakravarty sent to Germany according to which Li Yuan Hung, the President of China,

29. *Trial of the Ghadr Party, op. cit.*, 71, 6532.

formerly the southern revolutionary leader, and W. T. Wang, his private secretary, who had known Chakravarty very well, showed sympathy with the Indian revolution and they liked to weaken the English power. Some Chinese wanted to help India directly and Germany indirectly.³⁰ In June 1916, he reported that the organisation had been completed and revolutionaries in Punjab only waited the delivery of arms to start the revolt. Chakravarty did not deny this code message.

If Ghadrites had 'United States' in India for the purpose of the established freedom of government, then Ram Chandra would be President, Bhagwan Singh as traveller, or Secretary of State, Taraknath Das as an ambassador for Germany and they would have wonderful Consul.³²

On 18th April, 1918, Trimothy J. Healy, on behalf of the defendants—Bhagwan Singh, Santokh Singh,—stated in the court that the cases against these persons must be dealt with separately as they were distinguishable from others as they were all 'Singhs'.³³ He argued that the purpose of the Pacific Coast Hindustani Association, when they set it up in 1913, was to establish a printing house—printing two kinds of literature. One, the vernacular literature meant to foment trouble in India. Two, the publication of English newspapers and pamphlets was needed to win the support, help and sympathy in the foreign lands, by printing an average income of the best Indians,³⁴ bad sanitary conditions, causing death by preventable diseases.³⁵ These men also printed the life of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, "Government for the people, of the people, and by the people, shall not perish from earth." Declarations of American Independence were translated, emphasising that 'all men are born free and equal'. They also appealed to the constitutional provision of pure democracy with referendum and recall.³⁶

30 *Ibid.*, 71, 6549.

31 Khuswant Singh *op cit.*, 51.

32 *Trail of the Ghadr Party, op cit.*, vol. 71, 6560.

33 They were all Sikhs.

34 Two American dollars a month.

35 *Ibid.*, vol. 72, 6615.

36 *Ibid.*, 72, 6617.

For the defendants, George A. McGowan only made an emotional speech rather than pleading or counteracting the arguments of the prosecution, though he stated that Dhirendra Kumar Sarkar had nothing to do with it. The police had arrested him and he was being tried. Another defendant, Lattendorf had been simply dubbed as a member of the German-Consulate because he was born in Germany. McGowan further argued ;

“This movement for the betterment of conditions in India is not local movement, not by any means, Gentlemen of the Jury. Mr. Sukumar Chaterji, the first witness for the government testified that stand that there were societies all over the world, in India and out of India, of this character...the Hindu witness had heard of societies of that. Many papers, published in U.S., for years, devoted to the liberation of Ireland, devoted to the political conditions of other countries whose subjects thought they were not having the proper voice in the governments of their countries.

“Now I challenge a comparison of the reading of papers of Irish nationalities, of oppressed slaves, or any nationalist movements, compare them with the writings of these Hindus.

“Ghadr paper did not say a word against the American Government .. What was the position of these defendants when America entered this war or rather before America entered this war, at the time of their severance of diplomatic relations, resolutions of loyalty to this country were passed at Sacramento.”³⁷

McGowan emphasised that Ghadr paper did not contain matter against the American government. Munshi Ram wrote a letter from Utah that “the political situation is grave and I do not think men should go around making political speeches at this time.”³⁸ Ram Chander was only running an ashram and by virtue of that, he came into contact with several Indians who provided him with money. But the prosecution called him a grafter. Mr. Preston and agents of the government could not bring any evidence or say a word against him. Rather Preston and agents of the government went to India to bring Harcharan Das to give evidence against Ram Chandra.^{38a}

37 *Ibid.*, 71, 6596-97.

38 *Ibid.*, 71, 6599.

38a *Ibid.*, 71, 6605-06.

On 23rd April, 1918, San Francisco trial reached its sensational climax when Ram Chandra was shot by Ram Singh. He still pressed the trigger of his automatic pistol, when he too was shot and killed by the U.S. Marshal James B. Holohan, who fired across the room over the heads of Attorneys. Ram Singh's first shot threw the court-room into confusion. Spectators, defendants, and their counsels and others hurried for cover, overthrowing chairs and tables in their flight. Soldiers and deputy marshals rushed to all exits and order was soon restored. Judge Van Fleet came back to the court immediately and ordered all the defendants to be taken into custody.

The U.S. District Attorney, John W. Preston had just finished his closing argument, and Judge Fleet announced that the Jury had left the bench and entered the chambers, when spectators and lawyers arose to leave the room. At one side of the bar sat the defendants, clustered together, and to the opposite side, by the jury box, Marshal Holohan watched proceedings which were disturbed by Ram Singh's shots.³⁹

It is believed that Ram Chandra was shot dead because he was a grafter and had used all the proceeds from property for his own benefit. In the *Gadhr* of March, 1970, Ram Chandra announced the expulsion of Bhagwan Singh "Gyani", Santokh Singh and Ram Singh, who, in Canada, fleeced the poor of thousands of dollars and spent them on pleasures, mingled themselves with crowds of the same kidney as themselves."⁴⁰ *The New York Times* reported that the double shooting was the first in San Francisco court room since Francis J. Henry was shot in the check during one of the graft trials ten years ago.

On 23rd April, 1918, the Judge Fleet and the Grand Jury announced its Judgement of Verdict of Guilty—Case-6133,—charging them with the crime of conspiracy to violate Section 13 of the Criminal Code of the United States of America. The Jury found all guilty except one. Chandra Kant Chakravarty got 30 days imprisonment and a fine of \$ 5,000, Bishan Singh Hindi—9 months, Bhagwan Singh—18 months, Dharendra Kumar Sarkar—4 months, Gobind Behari Lal—10 months, Munshi Ram—60 days, Godha Ram—11 months, Gopal Singh—1 year and one day, Imam Din—4 months,

39 *The New York Times*, April, 24, 1918.

40 Khushwant Singh, *op. cit.*, 52, n. 64.

Nidhan Singh—4 months, Santokh Singh—21 months, Taraknath Das—22 months, whereas the Europeans got stiffer punishments.⁴¹

The motives and the designs of which we come to know in the San Francisco trial from the statements and evidence ((i) literature of the Hindustani Ghadr. (ii) code message of the Ghadrites with the Foreign office in Berlin and the German Consulate in Washington, and (iii) the admittance of some defendants in the court) are that they had well-chalked out their plan for a revolt to throw the British out of India, reveal that the American authorities charged the Indian Ghadrites with the violation of neutrality laws but they were actually tried for the so-called Hindu-German conspiracy, meant to give setback to the allies. Despite their conviction, we find no evidence for their violation of the neutrality laws except that they prepared the plan on the American soil. If this is a violation, then why the American government allowed the circulation of many newspapers which contained sufficient material for the liberation of Ireland and slave nationalities. The Ghadr paper did not say anything, different from these papers. Rather the Hindustani Ghadr published several resolutions of allegiance and loyalty to the American government passed by the party at Sacramento.⁴²

To begin with, the American government and people showed sympathy for the Indian cause and the Ghadrites received their constant encouragement and moral support which enabled them to chalk out their plan. Presidents Roosevelt's and Wilson's administrations were friendly towards their activities. The Ghadrites then prepared the plan for the revolt in India on the

41 Franz Bopp—2 years and \$ 10,000; Joseph L. Bley—15 months & \$ 5,000; Robert Capalle—15 months and \$ 75,000; Edwin Deinat—10 months and \$ 15,00; Heinrich Elbo—6 months and \$ 1,000; Hary J. Hart—6 months and \$ 5,000; Louis T. Hengster—\$ 5,000 J. Clyde Hizar—1 year and \$ 5,000; Henry Kaufmann—6 months & \$ 5,000; Charles Latendorff—1 year; B. Manning—9 months & \$ 1,000; Walter Suerbeck—12 months, and \$ 2,000; Von Goltzeim—6 months and \$ 1,000; Von Schack—2 years and \$ 10,000.

Trial of the Ghadr Party, op. cit., Vol. 76, case Num. 6133.

42 See footnote 37.

American soil and she did not bother about the diplomatic protests and pressures of the British government for checking their activities. The Ghadrites drew their inspiration from the lives of the great men like George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and from the American political ideas and thinking.

But America's entry into the first world war brought about a change in the international situation as America then became an ally of the British Government against Germany which provided help to the Indian Ghadrites. The American Government could not, therefore, ignore the diplomatic pressure of the English government for combing their activities. A pretext was provided to the two governments for action against the Ghadrites on the plea that they were not only engineering a revolt for independence but had allegedly entered into a conspiracy with Germany to counteract the British-American war plans. The American government, accordingly, acted swiftly and many Ghadrites were arrested, all literature seized, and their organisation, the Hindustan Ghadr Party, banned. Thereafter, the American Government framed a case for the violation of the neutrality laws with the help of the officials of the British Secret Service, who stayed in San Francisco for two years and left no stone unturned for producing witnesses and documentary proofs to get the Ghadrites convicted. So it is clear that the American government convicted them because of the heavy pressure from the British Government.

To conclude, it is evident that the Indian Ghadrites tried to seek all possible foreign help in order to get independence for their country from British imperialism, without affecting their loyalty to the American government. Consequently, one has to agree with Sardar Khushwant Singh that although the projected uprising was nipped in the bud, the plan of the Ghadrites was well-thought and well-timed. And they were imbued with burning nationalism to obtain independence.

Maharaja Ripudaman Singh— His Involvement in Popular Causes

HARBANS SINGH*

For Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malvendra Bahadur of Nabha, Independence came but four and a half years too late. Divested of his Princely inheritance and passing his days in distant Kodaikanal, virtually a prisoner in the hands of the British, he waited desperately for the hour of the abrogation of foreign rule. In this he saw hope of regaining his *gaddi* and winning the unequal battle he had joined many years before. His studied attitude of defiance towards British authority had won him the esteem of the nationalist elements and his dethronement and expulsion from his territory had created a widespread stir in the country. Among Congress leaders he claimed many as his personal friends. Even in his exilic days he maintained liaison with some of them. Out of the modest allowance the British had settled upon him, he gave away funds to support the national movement and to keep the question of his restoration alive.

Ripudaman Singh's father Maharaja Sir Hira Singh was a farmer before he was inducted into the Nabha succession upon failure of the direct line. He proved himself an energetic and wise ruler and became, in his lifetime, a legendary figure for his peasant's resourcefulness and common sense in the conduct of the affairs of state. Towards the British he was scrupulously friendly and loyal. This was the *milieu* in which Ripudaman Singh had grown up. For his training and education he was put in the charge of Bhai Kahan Singh, a vastly learned Sikh of his day. Owing perhaps to his commoner's background or a reaction against the excessive consideration shown by his father towards the ruling race or his absorption in Sikh lore and tradition he had mastered under a highly cultured and versatile tutor, the young prince developed a pronouncedly independent and nationalistic outlook. Of this he gave ample, reverberating evidence while still a young man in his early twenties.

Because of his father's influence with the Government, Tikka Ripudaman Singh was nominated a member of the Imperial

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Legislative Council in 1906. The Government had soon reason to regret their choice. Their favourite prince turned out to be a strong and consistent critic of their policies. He openly aligned himself with the non-official members, such as Gokhale and Rash Behari Ghose, and became an acknowledged spokesman of the national viewpoint. His speeches at the time of annual budgets were marked by deep patriotic fervour and pinned down the Government on many issues of public policy and administration. In 1907, he boldly took up the cause of the Sikh Granthi of 14th Sikhs who had been dismissed because he had not salaamed an English officer from his seat behind the *Guru Granth*. In spite of the repeated attempts of Secretaries to Government, Mr J.K. Dunlop-Smith and Mr J.M. Macpherson, to wear him down, he remained undeterred. The Viceroy finally disallowed his questions. A similar situation arose a few days later when Ripudaman Singh wanted to ask a question about the English translation of the *Guru Granth* made, under the auspices of the India Office, by a German Orientalist Dr Ernest Trumpp. The book had offended the Sikh sentiment by its pejorative tone, and, in attempting to convey to Government the Sikhs' protest, he clashed again with the Viceroy. He was equally verbal and uncompromising in his opposition to the Seditious Meetings Bill and other repressive measures proposed by Government.

He introduced in the Imperial Council the Anand Marriage Bill to simplify the Sikh wedding ceremonial, then a matter of great importance for reformist Sikhs. In the Budget debate of 1907, he pleaded for a better system of national defence in these words: "My lord, as a Sikh I naturally feel inclined to think first about the defence of my country. I am not going to suggest that our regular army should be increased. I am rather of opinion that mercenary troops alone cannot be relied upon in a moment of grave danger to defend the interests of a great country. All that I suggest is that a large number of able-bodied young men should receive military training and form a reserve force."

The following year he spoke with equal firmness on the question of relations between Indians and Europeans: "It has been said that this idea of equality of treatment is the fruit of English education, but, if I may be permitted, I can safely say that to an Indian his *izzat* has been from time immemorial dearer than life itself. There is no doubt that title-seekers and policemen even now indulge in

insincere flatteries. But it can be safely said that true well-wishers of the Government are those who speak the truth plainly. European officers do not often show due courtesy and politeness either in writing or in conversation to Indian gentlemen. This ignorance of Indian manners, customs, religions, language and etiquette which they do not trouble to study and consider not worth their while to learn is a growing evil." Another question he took up was the progressive Indianization of the services and he told the Government that "to associate more and more children of the soil with the higher administration of the country, both civil and military, is the pressing problem of the day."

Ripudaman Singh's succession as Maharaja towards the close of 1911 was marked by a serious conflict with the Government. The Maharaja believed that his succession, flawless in law as well as usage, was a matter of right, and valid without any British sanction or ceremony. In any case, he refused to have an installation ceremony which departed in any detail from the one performed at the time of his father's investiture. The Political Agent, Mr. C.H. Atkins, wrote to him on March 22, 1912, that the *khillat* to be presented to him would consist of (1) necklace (2) a *sarpech* (3) sovereigns to bring up the total value to Rs. 6000/-. "I am to place the necklace round Your Highness' neck, to fasten the *sarpech* on Your Highness' turban and to bind the sword of state on Your Highness' person."

This was unacceptable to the Maharaja and in his reply he pleaded that at the preceding investiture ceremony in Nabha "only a necklace was put on my father, but no sword nor a *sarpech*, and I wish that the same procedure should be followed. I highly value the kindly thought of the Government to show me full honours, but I am contented to have those that are according to the traditions of my house." The argument was prolonged on both sides and would have gone on, but to enable the Maharaja to take part in the Delhi State Entry and Durbar for the Viceroy on December 23, 1912, a ceremony was hurriedly held at Nabha. Those were the days of Moharrum and the Maharaja was unhappy that the investiture had to be performed at a time when his Muslim subjects were observing the traditional mourning. He made a stinging speech on the occasion and forthrightly told the Political Agent who was representing His Honour Lt-Governor Sir Louis Dane that he had agreed to the installation ceremony under protest and reserved to himself the right to appeal to

the Secretary of State for India.

Sir Louis was retiring soon afterwards and Atkins wrote to the Maharaja that His Honour "would be glad of an opportunity of paying a last visit to Phulkian Chiefs in their own houses." He proposed February 25 and 26 for the visit to Nabha. The Maharaja curtly replied :

The Palace, Nabha,
11th January, 1913.

My friend,

I have just received your letter of the 8th instant. You will remember I explained to you verbally on the 7th ultimo when you paid a visit to Nabha that I should be touring in my state during the months of February and March. Therefore, I much regret that it will not be convenient or possible for me to receive a visit from His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor here as suggested.

Trusting you are in the enjoyment of excellent health.

I am,
Your sincere friend,
(Sd) Ripudaman Singh
Maharaja of Nabha.

C. H. Atkins, Esq., I. C. S.,
Political Agent, Phulkian States
and Bahawalpur, Bahawalpur.

Visits by the Viceroy and his representatives were considered matters of high privilege and honour by the Princely rulers and their one ambition used to be to avail themselves of these for demonstrating their loyalty and lavishness of entertainment and hospitality. It was unheard of for a ruler to decline to receive such a visit like the Maharaja of Nabha had done soon after his succession.

Several other points of friction arose. The Maharaja revelled in challenging the British authority whenever he could. He combined with his deeply anti-British sentiment an acute sensitivity about his rights and position as a ruler. He carried on a long-drawn debate with the Political Department on the niceties of his prerogatives derived from his *sanads*. His correspondence with the representative of the Crown is revelatory of his stubborn and tenacious will, and of his elegant, unyielding and abrasive style of expression. The

Maharaja resented the practice of giving notice to the Government for visiting a place outside his state. Once commenting on the shortness of notice given about his intended visit to Mussoorie in 1914, the Lt-Governor inquired what the Maharaja would think and do if he [Lt-Governor] visited his state without notice.

The Maharaja's reply was incisive and witty and in a sportive literary style: "My answer is in thought he would be welcomed, in act he would be entertained. It is the unbroken rule in Nabha that His Honour is always the state's guest. If he arrived without notice, we should feel flattered by an indication of his appreciation of our attentions if not of our society. While an unexpected guest cannot blame his host for rooms unready and delicacies uniced, I have no doubt the state resources would even then be equal to providing for His Honour's physical comfort. On the other hand, my intrusion into British territory would inconvenience no host. I am always my own host and could take no hospitality by surprise".

Some of the Maharaja's acts were calculated to provoke the British. He kept in close touch with leaders of the national movement, specially those he had known since the days of his membership of the Imperial Legislative Council in Calcutta. He appointed Shri Purushottam Das Tandon as a minister in his state. He wished to bring out a newspaper of his own and recruited, to this end, the services of Mr. S. R. Iyer who had worked on nationalist papers such as *The Searchlight* of Patna and *The Leader* of Allahabad. He sat through Mahatama Gandhi's speech at the foundation-laying ceremony of the Hindu University at Benares which was characterized by Mrs Annie Besant as seditious and boycotted by all other princes attending the function. In the summer of 1921 he presided, against the advice of his own Prime Minister, at a meeting of the Tilak School of Politics at Mussoorie. In conformity with Akali directions, he observed the Nankana Sahib day as a mark of respect to the martyrs' memory by forgoing food for the day, donning a black turban and sleeping on the ground. The black turban was, in those days, the symbol of sedition.

Any such ruler, under British paramountcy, would have had only a precarious lien on the *gaddi*. The inevitable came to pass. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh was made to withdraw himself from the state administration on July 9, 1923, and deported to Dehra Dun. This had an electric impact on the Punjab. Great was the commo-

tion among the people and Maharaja Ripudaman Singh's removal from Nabha was likened to Maharaja Duleep Singh's severance from the sovereignty of Lahore at the end of the second Anglo-Sikh War (1849). The Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee which was then spearheading a popular and heroic struggle for the reformation of Sikh shrines was especially perturbed and expressed much sympathy for the D. D. [Dehra Dun] Friend—the appellation by which the Maharaja was referred to in its secret files and documents. July 29 was appointed a day of prayer for the Maharaja's restoration and September 9 a day for barefoot protest-marches through Punjab towns and cities. A Punjabi couplet which became popular with the masses and summed up the anguish of their hearts read :

Uth jag qaum hosiār ho ja

Tera rājā faqeer ho chaliyā hai

Wake up and rise, O Sikh people,

And be warned :

Your king is reduced to a beggar !!

Jaitu, a small town Nabha state, became the scene of a virulent *morcha* or battlefront. To vindicate their right to pray for the rehabilitation of the Maharaja and to redeem the impiety committed by the police in interrupting the ceremonial continuous reading of the Holy Book, batches of Akalis began to issue daily from Akal Takhat to march on foot to Jaitu, 150 miles from Amritsar. Before they reached Jaitu, these *jathas* were held by the police, beaten and taken to a remote desert some 300 miles away, there to be abandoned to their fate without food or money.

Jawaharlal Nehru, then a rising star in the Congress, wished to find out what was happening at Jaitu and came accompanied by two of his colleagues, K. Santanam and A.T. Gidwani. He followed, in a country-cart, one of the *jathas*. As they reached Jaitu, the *jatha* was stopped by police and an order was served upon Jawaharlal Nehru and his companions banning their entry into Nabha territory. Upon their refusing compliance, they were put under arrest and marched through the streets of the town, Jawaharlal Nehru and K. Santanam handcuffed together, wrist by wrist. Describing accused Jawaharlal Nehru in his diary, in chaste and poetic Urdu, the subordinate, but obviously imaginative, Nabha policeman wrote : "*Gora rang, lambootra chehra, aust andam, lamba naak, aho chashm, farakh*

peshani, qadd darmiana, umar chauntis sal (Fair complexion, oval face, average build, long nose, gazelle-eyed, broad forehead, medium height, age 34 years)." The report, in original, is preserved in the Nabha file in the Punjab State Archives at Patiala.

Motilal Nehru visited Nabha to meet his son, but was not allowed to do so. Jawaharlal sent in a note to the court protesting against the treatment meted out to his father. The note, which is reproduced as an appendix to this essay, was thus concluded :

...we wanted to consult our relatives and advisers and for this we mentioned to the court yesterday that we required time. I find, however, that my father, Pandit Motilal Nehru, actually came to Nabha yesterday but he was not allowed to see me unless he agreed to some humiliating conditions. I presume he refused to submit to any such conditions and so he had to go back without seeing me. It is perfectly futile for us to ask any friend or relative to come here if he is to be prevented from seeing us unless he agrees to various conditions. We can only do so if it is made perfectly clear that we can send for anyone and that he will have full liberty of action and can see us without any restrictions, or conditions whatever. As yesterday's treatment of my father clearly shows that this is not going to be allowed in Nabha, I think that the adjournment of the case will serve no useful purpose and will not help us in any way. We do not desire it.

Sd/- Jawaharlal Nehru
25/9/23. 4-40 p.m.

I agree—Sd/- K. Santanam 25/9/23

I agree—Sd/- A.T. Gidwani 25/9/23

Neither the popular agitation nor the Maharaja's own representations to Government proved fruitful. On December 14, 1923, he wrote to Lord Reading, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, a long letter in which he detailed the circumstances which led up to his signing the note of abdication. He referred especially to the coercion and intimidation exercised by the Political Agent, the treachery and intrigue of his own officials and his poor state of health. He told the Viceroy that immediately after he had signed the letter of abdication he sent two high-ranking courtiers in his fastest car to pursue Mr O'Grady, another of his officers, who was

carrying the letter of abdication to the Political Agent. He was overtaken at Ambala, but refused to return the letter and, as the Maharaja sarcastically put down in his communication to the Viceroy, "the two officials meekly took the refusal and returned to Nabha late at night."

Thus did the Maharaja continue the story: "Deserted and defied by my officials and feeling that I had for the time being put myself under the thumb of the implacable A. G. G., who had in a way secured his objective, I was still pondering as to the measures I could take to undo the mischief, when early on the morning of the 8th July without apprising me beforehand, Col Minchin appeared with troops before my palace and forced entry through the gates defying the guard. Soldiers surrounded the palace and Col Minchin penetrated unannounced into my rooms. In my capital and in my own palace I was insulted, treated like a rebel and a prisoner and was practically deported out of the state within a few hours."

The Maharaja said that he was writing to a Viceroy who had been the Chief Justice of England and expressed his faith in his fair-mindedness. The Viceroy was polite, but firm, in his reply. Following are excerpts from his letter addressed to the Maharaja, with his full titles and honours:

My esteemed friend,

I regret that owing to the pressure of work it has not been possible for me up to the present to reply to Your Highness' letter, dated the 14th of December. I have now fully considered its contents and have given my earnest attention to those aspects of the case to which Your Highness attached particular importance.

I do not desire to discuss in detail all the allegations which you have made. My examination of the case and my personal knowledge of all the important events connected with it leave no doubt in my mind that the grievances which you have brought to my notice and the charges of intimidation and coercion which you have levelled at the officers of my Government, are without foundation. The action which was throughout the case and the proposals which were made were taken and made after careful consideration at the time and no pains were spared to ascertain the facts at every step. In order to satisfy myself, I have re-examined the matter in the light of Your Highness'

allegations but I can find no ground for revision of the decision arrived at after much anxious thought and full consideration of every point.

... ..

In my speech on the 17th of October to which I have alluded above I called attention to remarks that were being circulated of Your Highness' restoration in a short period or in a few years. I said that there should be no illusion in this respect and that Your Highness had ceased for all times to rule in Nabha. To that pronouncement I and my Government adhere and Your Highness must definitely understand that the decision is irrevocable.

I remain, with much consideration,
Your Highness' sincere friend,

Sd/- Reading,

Viceroy and Governor-General of
India.

His Highness Farzand-i-Arjumand,
Akidat-paiwand Dault-i-Inglishia,
Brar Bans Sarmaur, Raja-i-Rajgan,
Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, Malvendra Bahadur,
Maharaja of Nabha.

The Maharaja did not give up and relied increasingly on the support of his political friends. In the summer of 1926, he entertained Pandit Motilal Nehru at a tea party at the Mussoorie Rink Theatre. The wife of Pandit Nehru felt great sympathy for the Maharaja and tears came to her eyes as the latter took leave of his guests. Pandit Motilal said, "If India had swaraj, we would right your wrong today."

The British felt that the Maharaja lived too near the Punjab to be kept from political manoeuvre. While on a visit to Allahabad, he was arrested under Regulation III of 1818, deprived of his titles and deported to Kodaikanal in the South. Even in this forlorn state, the Maharaja clung to the hope of winning back his crown one day. He retained his contact with the political leaders. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Ali Brothers, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Sir Chimanolal Setalvad and other friends did try to help him. But nothing availed. A sense of loneliness gradually overtook the Maharaja. He felt deeply injured at the way he had been separated from the Maharani

and his children. In his captivity, he missed them a great deal. In one of his communications to the Government of India he said, "Keep Nabha, but for God's sake let me live with my wife and children in peace." Of course, the Maharaja's family were not allowed to visit him in Kodaikanal. The desire to see India free was still strong in his heart. But death came to the aged frame on December 13, 1942. The memory of the tragic, but heroic, career of the Maharaja still survives in the Punjab.

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APPENDIX

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's Written Statement

I do not wish to defend myself in this proceeding as it is not our practice to produce any witnesses or offer any defence in proceedings taken against us by the British Government. As a non-cooperator I merely wish to inform the court of the facts as I know them and to correct some wrong statements that have been made. I also wish to

point out a number of illegalities and irregularities which have occurred in this case. Before I proceed further with my statement I desire to thank the court for the uniform courtesy that has been extended to me.

2. I realise that it is difficult for this court to act independently or to dissociate itself from the executive which has taken the initiative in starting this case against us. Indeed, I learnt with some surprise that even applications made by us to the court were being referred to the "administrator" of the State for orders. On the morning of 24th Sept., I presented an application to the court insisting on my right as a under-trial prisoner to interview my relatives and advisers and also to write letters. A second sitting of the court took place the same afternoon and I was then informed that my application had been sent to the administrator who had passed certain orders on it. Thus on the admission of the court it is the administrator who decided on some of our applications presented to this court and the court merely transmits his orders to us. The gentleman who initiated the proceedings against us thus becomes our judge. It is because of our conviction that it is not possible to obtain justice in matters to which the Govt. is a party, that we refrain from offering a defence.

3. I do not know under what authority the present court is functioning. I take it that the court derived its jurisdiction from the will of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, the rightful ruler of the Nabha State, and could only continue to exercise it during his pleasure. He has now been dispossessed and is not at liberty to impose his will on the people of Nabha. No attempt has been made to show that the present administrator has either been appointed by him or under a voluntary and valid power of appointment conferred by him. The British Govt. cannot without an express authority freely given in this behalf by the Maharaja be entitled to interfere in the internal administration of the State. No such authority has been proved and no circumstances can be or have in fact been shown to exist as would render such authority unnecessary. These facts must be proved in the court as any other facts and the court cannot merely take judicial notice of the change of administration.

4. When I arrived at Jaito and an order purporting to be under Sec. 144 Cr. P. Code was shown to me. I read in it that Mr. Wilson Johnstone was the present administrator of Nabha State. I did not then know and I do not yet know under what law Mr. Johnstone has

been appointed the administrator and what his position and powers are. I am not aware of any mention in the Criminal Procedure Code or Indian Penal Code of the administrator or his power to issue orders under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. Even according to the law as administered in British India, to which repeated reference has been made here, only such persons as are authorised to do so can issue these orders. No attempt whatever has been made to show that the administrator has been empowered by competent authority to exercise either generally or specially the jurisdiction vested in any of the classes of magistrates mentioned in the section.

5. My companions and I had read in the papers about strange happenings in Nabha and Jaito. We decided that on our way back from Delhi after the Congress we should pay a short visit of a couple of days to this State to see for ourselves what was happening. We knew very little of the facts at the time. We were told that Muktsar was the Sikh centre from which Akali *jathas* were sent, so we went there to make enquiries as to what the Sikh version was and how they were meeting the situation. We then proceeded by road on horseback and bullock-cart towards Jaito. There was no Akali jatha with us but we passed some jathas on the way. About two miles from Jaito, within the Nabha territory, we caught up a jatha and, discarding our bullock-cart and horse we decided to walk along in their wake so as to be able to watch closely what happened to them. Thus we arrived at Jaito. We sent the bullock-cart containing our luggage straight to the station as it was our intention to leave by the evening train. When the jatha was stopped by the police we stood by to see what was happening. We were asked by a policeman if we were accompanying the jatha. I told him that we were obviously not Akalis or members of the jatha which consisted of Akalis only in their distinctive black turbans and clothes. We had come along with the jatha to see what happened to them. We continued watching from the roadside, the jatha occupying the middle of the road, confronting the police. The public prosecutor has referred to a statement said to have been made by the Supdt. of Police of Jaito to the effect that we were forcibly kept back by the police from proceeding further. I do not know if any such statement has been made by the Supdt. of Police. In any event the statement is wholly wrong and untrue. There was no object in our trying to force our way. We had come to watch and we stood aside to see the jatha and the Police.

6. Just then the Supdt. of Police of Jaito came and showed me an order under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. signed by Mr. Johnstone. The order prohibited me from entering Nabha State. As a matter of fact I had entered Nabha territory some hours before on my way to Jaito. It did not thus apply to the circumstances of the case. I accepted service of the order and further informed the Supdt. that I did not intend leaving Nabha territory immediately. My companions and I then went to a small building nearby—I think it is called a dharamshala—and sat down in the verandah as the sun was hot outside. A little later the Supdt. of police returned with some others, one of whom we were told was the District Magistrate pronouncing an oral order against them under Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. On a further protest being made that the order could not be oral, we were informed that in Nabha State it could be so. I may mention that the statement of the Supdt. of Police of Jaito that my companions refused to sign the order under Sec. 144 is an untruth. They were never asked to sign. I am sure they would have willingly signed it if they had been asked to do so.

7. Another statement made, I think, by the Supdt. of Police to the effect that the Akali jatha and me were asked to disperse is also not true. No such request was made in my hearing. Some people in the jatha were asked to go back, but they refused to do so but sat down in the middle of the road. I asked the Supdt. of Police what he wanted to do with the jatha. He replied that they were needlessly sitting in the hot sun and he merely wanted them to go under a tree a little way from the road. No mention of an unlawful assembly was made to my knowledge. Indeed, I knew nothing about it till proceedings were started against us at Nabha. All I was told then was that people were not permitted to enter a Gurdwara and its immediate neighbourhood where a diwan had been held. But both these places were, so I was informed, several hundred yards away from the place where the jatha was stopped. So far as we were concerned it is somewhat difficult to understand how persons under arrest could disperse.

8. After our arrest and search we were led away to the police station. The jatha was still sitting at the time in the middle of the road. We were kept at the police station till 10. p. m. when we were handcuffed—one of the hands being left free—and chained and so taken to the station and put in a crowded 3rd class carriage. After changing at Bhatinda we arrived at Nabha in the small hours of the

morning of the 22nd and were marched to a police chowki. Later in the day we were made to march to the Central Jail. All this time our handcuff had not been taken off. They were eventually removed in the Central Jail.

9. These are the facts leading up to our arrival under arrest at Nabha. I do not desire to take advantage of any technicalities but I do wish to make it clear that the proceedings against us are wholly illegal and irregular. The order served on me prohibited my entry into Nabha territory. I had already entered some hours back. As framed the order was incapable of being complied with. The act which it prohibited had already been done.

10. The order was not a bonafide one or meant for a purpose provided for by the section. To issue orders under Sec. 144 Cr. P.C. merely to prevent outsiders from entering Nabha is a misuse of the section. There was not the slightest chance of our visit in a breach of public tranquility. Indeed our entry into Nabha territory, our stay there for some hours and eventually our arrest did not as a matter of fact result in any disturbance or likelihood of disturbance, of the public peace. Our mission was one of peaceful enquiry and no attempt has been made even to allege that it might have affected the public tranquility. It is evident from the brief outline of this case given by the administrator in a letter to Pandit Motilal Nehru that he considered the presence of the accused "under the present circumstances most inadvisable in Jaito." The fact that a certain thing is "inadvisable" from view point of the administrator does not make it something which will disturb the public tranquility. The use of the section under these circumstances is wholly against law. It cannot be used to cut off all entry into Nabha State and to make it a quarantine area where none may enter to find out what is happening. The reference in the notice to certain resolutions of the Congress, which have nothing to do with any apprehension of a disturbance of public tranquility in Nabha, makes it clear that the object aimed at was the Congress. The section has not only been used against us but also against people who desired to come to Nabha to see and advise us in jail.

11. After service of the order under Sec. 144 we remained in the immediate neighbourhood till our arrest. I do not know what the Supdt. of Police expected us to do after seeing the order. We could

not vanish. The act forbidden by the order had already taken place before it had been served. On seeing the order I informed the Supdt. that it was not my intention to leave the place then. But I fail to understand how my remaining at the place at the time became an offence or constituted any disobedience. I could not have acted differently whatever my intention might have been. Mere intention to disobey even is not disobedience of an order. During the few minutes that elapsed between the service of the order and our arrest we were resting in the verandah of the Dharmshala after our long journey and we could not do anything if we wanted to carry out the order.

12. The disobedience of an order under Sec. 144 is not by itself an offence. Even if there is such disobedience it must be shown that such disobedience has actually resulted in a breach or in the likelihood of a breach of public tranquility. Not the slightest attempt has been made to show this.

13. I would add that the arrest under the circumstances was not in accordance with law. A case under Sec. 188 is a summons case and no warrant should be issued. Our being handcuffed and chained and then kept under restraint amounted to assault and unlawful restraint. The fact that subsequently a false case under Sec. 145 IPC has been started against us does not justify the original arrest. I mention this not because I complain of being handcuffed but to show that the whole proceedings have not been bonafide or in accordance with any law.

14. We have been told that our trial is a public trial. But in spite of this assurance the public is not admitted and even friends who come long distances to attend the trial are kept out.

15. I have given the facts in some detail and have pointed out some illegalities and irregularities to show the methods and procedure adopted in Nabha under the present regime. I do not know what the State of Nabha was during the previous administrators. But the present administration has certainly shown in our case a remarkable disregard of all rules of law and procedure. It seems to me very strange that any straightforward administration should seek to keep out all outsiders and be afraid of an exposure. Something must be radically wrong for an administration to have recourse to the preventive sections of the code in order to stifle all legitimate enquiry.

16. I know little about the fact relating to the Nabha agitation now being carried on by the Sikhs or about the administration of the Maharaja who has been made to retire. If the action taken by the Govt. of India was bonafide and in the interests of the State, I would imagine that they could welcome enquiry and outside investigation. We came with open minds but we were met by an order restricting our liberty of movement. As a matter of fact it was our previous intention to leave Jaito by the next train, but none the less I could be no consenting party to an illegal and immoral order. I do feel that the restrictions imposed by the present administration in Nabha on our undoubted rights are indefensible and raise a wider issue. On that issue my duty is clear. If that results in a conviction and sentence I shall gladly welcome it.

Sd/-

[28-9-1923]

Jawahar Lal Nehru

Book Reviews

GURU NANAK IN HISTORY by J. S. Grewal, Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1969, pp. 348, Rs. 25/-

This is one of the nine books produced by the Panjab University on the occasion of 500th Birth Anniversary of Guru Nanak Dev. It is divided into two parts; the first part, containing four chapters deals with the political, social and religious environment of the time of Guru Nanak and it is based upon contemporary and secondary sources. Although to a student of history there is not much new in this part, yet those who have not studied the subject and are interested in the life and teachings of the founder of Sikhism, this approach is quite useful. At any rate, this treatment is better than the purely intellectual approach adopted by many writers who have recently written on Guru Nanak. Dr. Grewal must be congratulated for adopting this approach.

In the first part, the evidence presented by Guru Nanak in his compositions has not been used. This, as the author himself says (Intr. p. xi), has been done deliberately so that Guru Nanak's 'response to conditions of his times comes into sharp relief.' But in part second of the book which deals with Guru Nanak's ideas about contemporary politics, society and religion, and which are based on the writings of the founder of Sikhism, no attempt has been made to collate it with the information given in part first. For example, in chapters III and IV, the author discusses various aspects of the philosophy of the Sufis, the Gorakhpantis and Kabir. The Sufis regarded the 'Shaikh' as the medium between the *Murid* and *Allah*. The Gorakhpantis believed that only the true teacher (*Sat-Guru*) could enable men to attain the 'realization.' So also Kabir laid much emphasis on the necessity of a 'spiritual preceptor', who may act as the medium between man and God. Guru Nanak also placed great emphasis on the role of the Guru for one's salvation. But the author does not tell in what respect did the 'Guru' of Nanak's conception differ from the 'Shaikh' of the Sufis or the 'spiritual preceptor' of Kabir.

Again, in chapter IV, the author discusses some of the ideas of

Kabir, such as his denunciation of religious beliefs and practices of his times, condemning of the *Mulla* and the *Pandit*, appreciation of true *Bhakti-bhava*, immanence and transcendence of God, etc. But he does not correlate it with the ideas of Guru Nanak given in Chapter VIII. He leaves it for the reader to judge in what respect and how far the ideas of Guru Nanak were influenced by the earlier Indian religious systems. Perhaps it would have been better if the writer, instead of giving them separately, had discussed them in the context of their inter-relationship. In the absence of this treatment, one gathers the impression that each part is a self-contained unit.

In chapter VII entitled 'Contemporary Religion and Guru Nanak,' the author discusses Guru Nanak's attitude towards the contemporary systems of religious belief and practice and seems to believe that Nanak did not identify himself with any of the existing forms of established religion. "The closest he comes to an explicit appreciation for any kind of individuals," writes Dr Grewal, "it is for the Sadhs and Sants." But he does not clarify in which respect the ideas of Guru Nanak were original? Whether the Master reinterpreted the *Sant* thought or whether his philosophy represents the synthesis of the ideas of the Sants? It is on such points that serious students of history expect deeper study and clear analysis.

Chapter VIII entitled "The Goal and the Path" is perhaps the best portion of the book. In this the author has discussed the basic concepts of Guru Nanak's philosophy such as '*Sachh, Nam, Sabad, Guru, Hukam, Nadar, Bhav-Bhakti*', etc. The goal is man's union with God or '*Joti jot samavna*' (mingling of light with the Light). To achieve this goal, there is definite path which is sufficiently well-marked. The author has worked very hard to assimilate all these aspects of Guru's philosophy from his various hymns and has made a definite contribution by presenting them in a systematic way. On this achievement he deserves all commendation.

In the 9th and the last chapter captioned 'Epilogue', Dr. Grewal discusses the attitude of Guru Nanak's successors, Bhai Gurdas and writers of the *Janam Sakhis* towards the founder of Sikhism. They regard Guru Nanak as the 'True Guru' and 'The greatest of all', who occupies a unique position and his message possesses universal validity. They further believe that Guru Nanak's concept of '*Sabad*' was transferred to his '*bani*' and to the '*bani*' of his successors.

A bibliography and an index given at the end greatly add to the utility of the book and it can be read with great advantage both by students of history and general readers.

C. L. Datta

JANAM-SAKHI PARAMPARA (Panjabi) by Dr. Kirpal Singh, pub. Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969, pp. iii + xxxv + 401; price not mentioned.

Among the Panjabi books published by the Punjabi University, Patiala, during the quincentenary celebrations year 1969, on the life of Guru Nanak, the *Janam-Sakhi Parampara* by Dr. Kirpal Singh is a very welcome addition. In addition to a 35-page *Introduction* on the growth and development of *Janam-Sakhi* traditions regarding the life of Guru Nanak, he has in the following 166 pages tried to reconstruct the life-story of the Guru based on the Vilayat-wali, Meharban-wali, Bhai Bala-wali and Bhai Mani Singh-wali *Janam-Sakhis*. The copious footnotes to illucidate some of the important points in the text are particularly useful. The main texts of the *Janam-Sakhis*, mentioned above, excluding the *Sabads* and commentories thereon, are included in the appendices, pp. 1-401. The plan of the book is well executed and it places in the hands of the reader the *Janam-Sakhi* sources in one handy volume.

The first *Var* of Bhai Gurdas (Pauris 21-45) should as well have been included. That, in fact, is the earliest and the most important source on the life of Guru Nanak and is virtually the basis of the *Janam-Sakhis*.

The addition of an analytical index would have greatly enhanced the value of the compilation.

Ganda Singh

SHAMBHU NATH WALI JANAMPATRI BABE NANAK JI KI, Panjabi text, edited with introduction by Dr. Piar Singh, published by the editor, 1969, pp. Lii + 104, price Rs. 10/- (Available from M/s Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana).

The quincentenary year has seen the publication of quite a number of works on Guru Nanak. It will be long before their relative importance is assessed. The one cited above may, however, be acclaimed as a valuable contribution providing one lost link in the evolution of the hagiographical literature concerning the founder of the Sikh faith.

Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana had in the early thirties taken note of this manuscript account in his *A History of Panjabi Literature* with

reference to MS. No. 4141 of the Panjab University Library, Lahore, and had called it *The Adi Sakhis*. But he had dealt with it rather summarily. Partition of the country having separated the readers on this side of the Punjab from that valuable source somewhat irretrievably, the manuscript in question had become almost lost. It has been rediscovered by Dr. Piar Singh, edited and published with a 52-page introduction.

In this study the learned editor traces the various *Janamsakhi* traditions, assigns them an order and refutes the claim of a section of the scholars with regard to the anteriority of the Meharban tradition. According to him the *Adi Sakhis* take precedence over the Meharban tradition and lie always at its root. Other interesting points of his thesis are: (i) bulk of life-accounts of Guru Nanak came to be written at a very early stage, probably during the life time of his immediate successor, Guru Angad, (ii) correct dates of Guru Nanak's birth and death are Vaisak *Sudi* 3 and Asu *Sudi* 10, respectively.

The get up of the book and standard of production are good. An analytical index would have greatly added to the value of the book.

Contributed

GURU NANAK AND THE SIKH RELIGION by Dr W.H. McLeod, Oxford University Press, London, 1968, pp. ix + 259, price 50 Sh.

Dr. McLeod's book, *Guru Nanak And The Sikh Religion*, is a historian's bold attempt to reconstruct the Guru Nanak of history from the available sources of hagiography, legend and devout imagination recorded in all types of literature or maintained by local and oral traditions, about Guru Nanak. Many westerners like J. D. Cunningham, R. N. Cust, E. Trumpp, Lepel Griffin, M. A. Macauliffe, G. B. Scott, Duncan Greenlees, to name only a few, have already worked on the Sikh history or the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs and, certainly, have to their credit monumental works of considerable merit. But the author of the present work has probed the subject with a definite and pointed objective of examining and determining the historicity of Guru Nanak's story of life on the basis of the source material available to him.

Before entering the precincts of Dr McLeod's research and examining his conclusions, it will be worthwhile taking a mental note of the premises in which the name and image of Guru Nanak have developed.

There is no denying the fact that it is primarily through the institution of the Sikh Religion that the great name of Guru Nanak has come down to us. Therefore, the Guru Nanak of religion and belief has assumed such colossal dimensions that the Guru Nanak of History has remained relegated into the remote background of faith. For a Sikh the urgency of determining the Guru Nanak of bare history has been very slight, for he seldom attaches greater importance to the Guru Nanak of History than to the Guru Nanak of his faith. Guru Nanak of a Sikh's faith does embrace the Guru Nanak of history within its folds but the urge to distinguish the latter from the former, in the light of objective historical methodology, has been found wanting in the requisite objectivity of the historian. Many a Sikh historian, who has tread upon the path of delineating Guru Nanak's course of life has been mostly susceptible to the available hagiographic and legendary sources. Many of the Western historians have also safely followed the same path. Dr McLeod has made a dynamic departure from this so called safe path and has broken a new ground, by conducting a rigorously objective examination of the traditions and sources, so far passed over as sufficiently historical and authentic. He has, in the process, critically examined all the source material available to him including the Adi Granth, Bhai Gurdas Var I, all the Janamsakhi traditions, the Puratan, the Miharban, the Bala, and the Gian Ratnavali of Bhai Mani Singh. In his application of rigorous historical methodology, the author has viewed the details offered by the Janamsakhis with critical mind so as to be able to reach purely historical conclusions.

In the process of the application of historical methodology he has summarily rejected about thirty-nine *sakhis* as impossible and classified the remaining into groups like, 'the established', 'the probable', 'the possible' and 'the improbable'. The *sakhis* which, according to Dr McLeod are labelled as the 'established' ones, are so few that the structure of Guru Nanak's traditional story of life seems to have been shaken to its very foundations. But the thoroughness of Dr McLeod's treatment of the source material is so profound that the common reader finds himself dumb-founded in the midst of his brilliant argumentation. The author's bid to trace the Guru Nanak of History is so exacting that whatever he reconstructs from the Janamsakhis with one hand he seems to be demolishing it with the other; as if Dr McLeod, the historian, has got the better of McLeod, the theologian.

Chronological sequence of the events of Guru Nanak's life, contemporaneity of the people visited and interviewed by him, correspondence of certain events with the rationality of Guru Nanak's approach, geographical exactitude of the places visited by Guru Nanak and a broad scientific outlook are the guidelines of the author, in the light of which he has scrutinized the Janamsakhis and rejected many of the events recorded in them.

The rejections made by Dr McLeod, however, do not diminish or blur the image of Guru Nanak in any way but on the other hand question only the historical element contained in the Janamsakhis. But he admits that in spite of the historically unacceptable material offered by the Sakhis, it is the Janamsakhis which are primarily responsible for projecting the beliefs of the Sikh people and an imaginative image of Guru Nanak as contemplated by his early followers. It is certain that the Janamsakhi writers have not aimed at writing and recording of history, in any sense of the term, but have tried to project the image of their Master, who, according to them, was a giant among men, of whatever faith and creed, who could not only converse with votaries of obsolete and out-worn faiths with a dynamic conviction but could also perform miracles like sleeping under the shade of a cobra's hood, restoring a field eaten up by cattle, making alive a dead elephant, cooling a boiling cauldron, ascending into the air, and stopping a rolling rock with his hand, etc., etc. These miracle-stories are well within the range of the period of Janamsakhis in which the greatness of man of religion was considered to be directly proportionate to his ability to perform miracles, many of which represented the common stock of miracle-stories associated with the founders and deities of different religions. Moreover, this period of Janamsakhis lacked rational understanding of Guru Nanak's dynamism. Hence the Janamsakhi writers could only dwell on a subjective interpretation of their Hero, supporting it here and there with his own compositions. At places, poems written by Guru Arjan have also been ascribed to Guru Nanak which gives a clear indication that some of the sakhis have been fabricated around the thought-patterns of certain poems. To put it more clearly it can be said, the Janamsakhi writers have not hesitated to put the cart before the horse, wherever necessary. It is mainly on such grounds that Dr McLeod has rightly questioned the historical value of Janamsakhis and has tried to rebuild the biography of Guru

Nanak on the basis of the few established and possible sakhis in the light of Guru Nanak's own compositions, not only showing deep reverence to the Guru but also treading the path with caution and full responsibility.

But in spite of the caution and sense of responsibility displayed by the author, some learned reviewers have found themselves at variance with him. They seem to have engaged themselves in putting their defence, rather than their difference of opinion, on behalf of Guru Nanak of 'their' own imagination and faith. They have reacted to the scholarly and objective research of the author with a wounded sentiment which has warranted their recourse of misquoting or half-quoting and thus distorting Dr McLeod's statements in addition to their indulging in invective where reasoning seems to have failed them. In addition to their mental and intellectual disposition towards *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*, they seem to have reacted under the notion that it is for the Sikhs to determine what is authentic about Guru Nanak, and a foreigner has no right to steal a march over them.

One of the reviewers has rejected the premises of Dr McLeod as 'wrong'. No doubt he had to take the trouble of recasting the premises of Dr McLeod as, "the janam-sakhis as a source of history are useful only for the periods of their production and are totally irrelevant to the reconstruction of Guru Nanak's biography as unhistorical and hence unacceptable". We are constrained to submit that this is too much of distortion, and instead of representing the author's premises it provides us with a clear glimpse of the reviewer's own premises to reject everything that the author has to say.

The author's own words, on which the reviewer has based his inference are reproduced below :

"In the case of the Janamsakhis the relevant context is the situation of the Sikh community during the closing years of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the 17th century. It can be safely assumed that the janamsakhis will express in some measure the beliefs of the community during this period, its more insistent needs, and the answers which it was giving to questions which confronted it."

It is clear that Dr McLeod, in these lines is discussing the thematic implications of the Janamsakhis, in the light of the influence of popular belief in their production, rather than discussing their

historical relevance in relation to the particular period. One can only wonder how conveniently the reviewer has taken the liberty of drawing the misleading inference from the above quoted lines! No doubt, Dr McLeod has discussed the historical utility of the Janamsakhis at length, but he has done it with a poise and reservation, characteristic of a profound scholar. His following generalization clearly indicates his attitude towards the Janamsakhis :

“We are compelled to use the janamsakhis as best we can, for there is nothing better, but we must do so in the full understanding that they are thoroughly inadequate sources.”

Mark the difference between the words ‘totally irrelevant’ and ‘thoroughly inadequate’.

The same reviewer has suggested that for “writing a biography of Guru Nanak, the best method would be to make the writings of Bhai Gurdas and Meharban the basis, to rationalise the elements of supernaturalism which does not fall within the domain of proper history, and to bring out the basic facts seeking corroborative evidence from whatever other sources it is available. It is unfortunate that Dr. McLeod has overlooked this sound line of approach.” But the irony is that Dr McLeod has done much more than following this “sound line of approach” in conducting a close comparative study of Puratan and Meharban Janamsakhis in the light of Var-I of Bhai Gurdas.

Another reviewer has found himself better equipped for pronouncing judgments on the findings of Dr. McLeod’s research. His method is very simple and straight. He lays down a principle of research in history in the words of John Malcolm : “In every research into the general history of mankind, it is of most essential importance to hear what a nation has to say of itself and the knowledge obtained from such sources has a value independent of its historical utility”. The reviewer, it seems, was in such a hurry to accuse Dr McLeod of a ‘different approach’, that he hardly waited to ponder over the emphasis of the principle quoted by him. The author of the quotation has laid definite emphasis on the fact that the value of knowledge obtained from such sources, is ‘independent of its historical utility’. But strangely enough, the learned reviewer has reversed this emphasis to his own advantage, implying thereby the indispensable historical utility of the knowledge obtained from such sources. If the reviewer’s interpretation of John Malcolm is

accepted, then research scholars in history will have to be very careful in future in that whatever a nation says about itself is not only authentic but is also final and hence the chapter of all historical research be closed for ever. The reviewer's version of his own premises is so fantastic that any detailed consideration of his views seems pointless. On the other hand, the author reviewed by him is so well acquainted with the spirit of John Malcolm's words that in spite of his rigorously examining the historicity of the Janamsakhis, he upholds their cultural and interpretative value when he says :

"The Janamsakhis must be regarded as examples of hagiography and any inclination to treat them as biographies will distort both our understanding of Guru Nanak and our appreciation of the true value of the Janamsakhis themselves. It is a value which includes the provision of strictly limited source material for the life of Guru Nanak, but which is by no means limited to this function. It consists rather in the testimony which the janamsakhis give to the impact and continuing influence of the Guru's personality, and ever more in the evidence they offer of Sikh belief and understanding at particular points in the community's history".

The third reviewer of the same series who has built his argument on the basis of Dr McLeod's 'Hostility towards janam-sakhis' has also ignored the spirit of the author's deep understanding and appraisal of the janamsakhis which is evident from the paragraph quoted above. Although the learned reviewer has given a good account of himself, yet he has regrettably failed to appreciate the author's depth of sincerity and profundity of objective approach which can never be dispensed with, to advantage, in the historical reconstruction of the past.

Dr McLeod has viewed with scepticism the visits of Guru Nanak to Mecca and Baghdad and has rejected the sakhis concerning these visits after a close comparative examination of the contradictory accounts contained in Var-I of Bhai Gurdas or in the different Janamsakhis. But in spite of his rejections of these sakhis he has not totally ruled out the possibility of Guru Nanak having visited these two places. His rejections of the Janamsakhi accounts have been taken almost as an offence by his reviewers and strong counter-claims have been put forward by some of them, perhaps with an apprehension that the exclusion of Mecca and Baghdad from the itinerary of Guru

Nanak is bound to diminish his image as a great traveller. They have proffered the counter-claims with a desperate bid to 'rescue' the totality of this image, but their arguments are marked by such a strong sentimental defensive that they only betray their sub-conscious belief to the contrary.

Whatever unpleasant criticism and objections this book by Dr H. W. McLeod has received from his critics, it is beyond doubt that his work is characteristic of his markedly sincere approach to know and reconstruct the biography of the Guru Nanak of History as also to present an analytical study of the religion (which calls for a separate discussion) founded by this 'greatest of the sons of the Panjab'. This unique attempt by the author has been generally lauded by the rationally minded Sikh circles and it is hoped this pioneering and monumental work will go down very deep into the annals of the studeis of Guru Nanak and Sikhism.

Gurcharan Singh
Karamjit Singh

THE SIKH AND THEIR LITERATURE, by Dr. N. Gerald Barrier,
pub. Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1970, pp. xiv+153, price
Rs. 28.

The book under review is a guide to Books, Tracts and Periodicals, relating to the Sikhs, produced during the period 1849-1919.

The Sikhs fought for their political independence in the first half of the 18th century and consequently ruled the Punjab for nearly a century from the middle of 18th century to the middle of the 19th century, when the Lahore Durbar lost it to the British. After the British take-over of the Punjab, a new type of awareness came into the Sikhs resulting in the formation of political parties and social organisations. Under the all-engulfing propaganda of the Arya Samaj, the Sikhs started a movement of their own under the Singh Sabha and later under Akali Dal. Therefore, to counteract the propaganda of Arya Samaj, considerable literature was also produced by the Sikhs.

By the first decade of the 20th century, there were over twenty Sikhs newspapers and journals. Sikh organisations like the Khalsa Tract Society and Punjabi Prachar Sabha spread their ideas and programmes through writings. And most of that literature had since

been lying unknown to the present day scholar. Dr. Barrier has done great service to the researchers of Sikh history working on this period.

The author took great pains to visit various individuals, libraries and organisations to collect his data. The devotion with which he has pursued his project deserves our sincerest praise. The book shows how he has tried to make it as comprehensive and useful as possible. Work on this project had not been undertaken by scholars in the absence of knowledge about this source material. This gap has been admirably filled by Dr. Barrier who had to overcome the difficulty of language to prepare the catalogue of this material which is mostly in Panjabi in Gurmukhi script.

In the introduction of the book the author deals with the Sikh resurgence and their literature. In sections 1 to 4, the author has compiled a bibliography of 1240 books and periodicals under the heads: 'Author List of Sikh Publications', 'Anonymous Sikh Publications', 'Sikh Institutional Publications', and 'Sikh Periodicals'. Besides giving full information about the time and place of the publication of the various books and periodicals the author gives very useful clues to the contents of the works also, enabling the researcher to know where the material required by him is available. In an appendix he has given 'A note on Sikh proscribed material' and has given a sample of the banned material hitherto unavailable to the scholars, giving a close peep into the feelings of the Sikhs against the British Government.

The author has searched the libraries of England, India and Pakistan to collect the material.

The work is undoubtedly pioneering and thorough and extremely useful for the researchers working on the activities of the Sikhs in various spheres during the British Raj.

The book comprising hardly 150 pages should have been priced at not more than Rs. 15.00.

Bhagat Singh

INDIAN WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS by DeWitt John Jr.,
Oxford University Press, London. 1969, price 25 Sh. net.

Lately the problem of coloured immigrants in Britain has assumed serious proportions. Enoch Powell and people of his way of thinking have started advocating their expulsion from the country. Indians are reported to have been repeatedly subjected to physical

assaults by the Skinheads.

A number of studies into the problem have recently been undertaken; some of them by the Institute of Race Relations, London, which started a five-year project in 1963 on a grant from the Nuffield Foundation. The book under review is chiefly concerned with the Indian Workers' Associations in Britain. It makes a successful study of their composition, ways of functioning, power-structure and their in-fights. But it also provides information on the life and conditions of work of the people of Indian origin living in Britain. Punjabis make a substantial majority of the Immigrants and their number swelled in the years following imposition of certain restrictions in 1963. The Indian Workers' Associations are, for all intents and purposes, organisations of Punjabi people about two thirds of whom are Sikh Jats. They are therefore fully representative of the latter's vices and virtues. The study tries to trace the various characteristics of these Associations back to the native places. For example some of the patent influences which the Sikh immigrants carry with them from Punjab are those of village factionalism, the Sikh religion and the communist ideology. All these, the study has found to be present among immigrants in Britain too. The main conclusion of the study is concerned with the extent of help that these Associations are capable of rendering in finding a solution to vexed question of Race relations.

Ramesh Walia

HISTORY OF BENGAL (Mughal Period), by Atul Chandra Roy, pub. Nababharat Publishers, Calcutta, 1968, pp.525, price Rs. 20.

The book seems to be produced as a text book for students rather than a research work as it is mostly based on secondary sources of information. It is written in a concise and lucid way.

The book deals with the major developments in Bengal during the Mughal period. Social and economic conditions during this period have also been studied along with the impact of the European Companies on the same. Local chivalry and patriotism had not been lost sight of and the author has discussed the political forces in the province that offered resistance to the Mughals from time to time.

A chapter has been devoted to the Zamindari system and the part played by it in the province. The terms Zamindar and Zamindari have been defined; different types of Zamindaris given and objective

conclusions about the system drawn. The roles of the Zamindars like Raja Sitaram Rai, Raja Udayanaryan, Badi-ul-Zaman, Asad Zamad, Raja Jayanaryan, Rani Bhavani, etc., in the history of the province have been briefly discussed. Their accounts include their treatment of their subjects, administration of their estates, their relations with the East India Company, their lavish contributions to works of public utility and denominational institutions. But sufficient attention has not been paid by the author to the oppressive exactions on the ryots and to the endless abuses in the estates of the Zamindars like fraudulent concealment of facts, fabrications and mutilation of accounts, etc. A mere passing reference to these things almost ignores the vital issues relating to the bulk of the population—the tillers of the soil.

In the chapter on the Mughal Administration in Bengal, the author briefly traces the growth and development of civil administration in the province, different departments, conferment of Mansab on high officials, rules of escheat, Jahangir's 17 point farman, remittance of annual tribute to the imperial court, the pattern of the distinct features of the Mughal rule in Bengal, the powers of the various officials of the local Government and the autonomy enjoyed by the local chiefs; special stress has been laid on the ushering in of an era of peace in the province under the Mughals. But scant attention has been paid to occasional outbursts of lawlessness and chaotic conditions. Very often wars and rebellions there, seriously disturbed the normal life in the province and the conquering generals' and officers' lust for gold and wealth worked havoc in the territory. The imperial power openly clashed with the Magh and Feringi pirates against whom the royal army almost proved impotent. Despite their best efforts the Mughal Emperors could not have complete control of the provincial government, rather it was limited to a notable extent. The rule of the local officers was generally oppressive. Seizure of ryots' wives and children by high officials was not an unusual affair in Bengal during the Mughal period. All this insecurity and instability should have been brought out in details. Mere reference to indiscipline and oppression in the province is not enough.

The author has included a chapter on Bengal's naval traditions and the various experiments and naval exploits made by the Mughal Government. The author seems to have diligently collected material

for this chapter.

Despite its being a readable and an informative account of the province of Bengal, I feel that it ought to have been adequately illustrated and better documented. The contemporary Persian chronicles, accounts of foreign travellers and the contemporary literature should also have been utilized in the writing of this book. As a part of a four-volume project to present a comprehensive study of the history of Bengal, it deserved to be a little more scholarly than of the standard of a college text book.

Bhagat Singh

GURU NANAK AND ORIGINS OF THE SIKH FAITH, by Harbans Singh, pub. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1969, pp. 247.

Of all the publications on the life of Guru Nanak that have come out in the Quincentary year, Professor Harbans Singh's book under review is easily the best biographical study of the Great Master.

The book is divided in fifteen chapters with an appendix on the inscription at Baghdad, a glossary of non-English words, a bibliography and an index.

The first two chapters, Introductory and Historical Milieu, are devoted to a survey of the source material on Guru Nanak's life, particularly the *Janam-Sakhis*, and the historical background of his times.

The *Janam-Sakhis*, it is true, are not a very authentic source of information on the life of Guru Nanak from an objective historian's point of view. But it must also be conceded that they are the only available early sources on which a researcher in the subject has primarily to depend.

Objective historiography was a thing unknown to mediaeval Hindus of the fifteenth century when Guru Nanak was born. The recording of day-to-day events of a transitory life, which to them was *mithiya* and *maya*, unreal and illusory, had no meaning for them. The art of writing factual history and chronicles itself is semitic in its origin and it came to Indian writers through Muslim scholars during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Guru Nanak was a contemporary of Babur, the diarist, but none of the Guru's companions and close associates has left to us any autobiographical memoir, diary or chronicle which could serve as a basis for an historical account of his life.

However, a student of history comes across similar situations in the case of almost all religious prophets and leaders whose followers had not unoften drawn their pictures in colours which reflected more the imagination of their own minds than the real image of their object, or they had presented these great men as they had come to them evolved through centuries of their unquestioning devotees' faith.

In spite of this all, Professor Harbans Singh has very judiciously used the *janam-sakhi* material and other traditional accounts, along with a large number of secondary sources in different languages, and, doing his best to steer clear of the whirlpool of accretions that had made them confusing and incredible, he has presented a clear story of Guru Nanak's life which may safely be said to be the nearest approach to historical accuracy.

There are still, no doubt, a few problems connected with the Guru's life defying solution. Let us hope that in time to come they will as well be solved by the learned author.

Ganda Singh

GURU NANAK: HIS PERSONALITY AND VISION, by Gurbachan Singh Talib, Gur Das Kapur and Sons, Delhi, 1969, pp. xxxii+326, price Rs. 25.00.

One of the problems of writing a book about Guru Nanak during the year of his birth quincentenary has been the choice of an aspect which others have not covered. Inevitably there has been much repetition, and even the best of books will face difficulties if others following the same approach are appearing at the same time. Part of Professor Talib's book deals with material which others have been covering, but the greater part is uniquely his own. Moreover, there is truth in his claim that an account of the Guru's life (the portion which others have covered) is useful for an understanding of the Guru's teachings.

It is the latter portion which constitutes the great merit of Professor Talib's book. Here there is no mere repetition of what other men have written. Instead we are given a penetrating analysis of the Guru's teachings, supported by competent translations from his works. One notes with particular pleasure the author's care in attaching page references to his quotations from the *Adi Granth*. Although this should be a regular feature of all such studies, it is, in practice, a rarity.

Three other features deserve particular commendation. First, there is the author's practice of preceding and concluding his analyses

with useful summaries. This is a mark of clear thinking. Much muddle could be avoided if all authors of such works would observe it as a regular rule. Secondly, there is his choice of individual subjects. Vital concepts such as *hukam* and *sahaj*, all too commonly ignored, are here treated with the author's usual care. Thirdly, there is his capacity to provide succinct definitions of such concept.

Professor Talib's book is a worthy contribution to the quincentenary year. After the quincentenary spate of publishing has spent itself a small nucleus of books will stand out as worthy of survival and continued use. This book should certainly be one of them.

W. H. Mcleod

CORRESPONDENCE

Letter to the Editor

In the article on *General Ventura* (by Pt. Sheo Narain), reproduced in your Journal of April 70, a statement has been made that the Laili had "been the source of such trouble and the death of so many brave men." (P. 68.)

2. In this connection I wish to state that I have studied Maharaja Ranjit Singh's campaigns in the Peshawar valley. It is true that for the subjugation of this area, the Maharaja had sent a number of expeditions at various times. It is also a fact that the Maharaja was very fond of fine horses. But, no expedition was launched purely for the purpose of taking this horse from the Afghan chiefs. The procurement of this horse was a by-product, or, you may say, a part of the booty of one of these campaigns. Therefore, the statement quoted in paragraph 1 above is incorrect. I feel such remarks are derogatory to such a wise and great king.

Jullundur City,
August 4, 1970

Gulcharan Singh
Lt.-Col.

P. S.

As for General Ventura, my article on him giving details of his life has been published in the October 1967 issue of *The Infantry Journal*, Mhow, M.P.

